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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 12, 1904.

## The Week.

Ex-Gov. Black has now been officially chosen to make the speech placing Roosevelt in nomination at Chicago. Has the selection anything to do with a starchless civil service and the President's conversion to the system made famous by the ex-Governor? One might suspect so in view of the way in which Mr. Roosevelt is now throwing consular appointments to Quay. One of them is that of the discredited Saylor. When that product of Quay politics was first named consul at Dawson City by President Roosevelt, it was explained that the latter had been imposed upon. The thing was an accomplished fact before the President knew the man's record. But now he knows it, yet sends him to Coburg, Germany; and nothing but the efforts of Quay's other appointee in that country, Ambassador Tower, prevented the German Government from protesting against a consul of Saylor's character as *persona non grata*! Such a knuckling under to Quay, at the expense of the public service, is one of those mysterious lapses of a reform President which grieve his best friends, and which they can explain only on the ground that he cannot be a reformer again until "after the election."

Since Speaker Cannon said he wouldn't, the conviction has strengthened that Senator Fairbanks must take the nomination for the Vice-Presidency. The call for him will be intensified by the recent and remarkable Democratic gains in municipal elections in Indiana. That State will have to be "saved," and it throws a queer light upon Indiana politics that it is thought Fairbanks can do the saving. His is a "heavy respectability," of which the heaviness, at any rate, is undoubted. No public speaker can more quickly drive an audience to despair. It is true that he might successfully pose as the necessary antidote to Roosevelt—as a man without a spark of originality, and "safe" only because all his views are safely locked within his own bosom. His dread of even pretending to have a conviction is one of the standing jokes in Washington. On the other hand, the Vice-Presidential boom of J. A. Springer, president of the Cattleman's Association, launched in the Colorado Convention on Thursday by ex-Senator Wolcott, has elements of strength, it seems to us, not found in any previous suggestions. The Republican party has in Mr. Roosevelt a candidate who owes much of his popularity in the Western States to his tremendous

energy and his personal picturesqueness. Before a Western audience he can arouse enthusiasm as can few other campaigners. Yet considerations of propriety demand that he now remain at home, as McKinley did in 1900, receiving callers and reviewing an occasional parade, but not making stump speeches. The Vice-Presidential candidate must represent him on the hustings. Since he must send a substitute, why not send one as much like him as possible—a fellow Rough Rider? To put up Fairbanks for the active member of the ticket would be as unsuitable as for a theatrical manager, upon the indisposition of his swashbuckling hero of melodrama, to select as understudy the solemn and dignified player who is most at home in the rôle of the ghost in "Hamlet."

Prof. William James was one of the academic persons whom Secretary Taft bade for Heaven's sake keep silent on Philippine matters; but, in a public letter he has disobeyed the injunction. He asks if Secretary Taft is really an impartial judge of a condition that he himself has made. He is, "in the very nature of the case, bound, even though there were a flagrantly better possible alternative, to remain a passionate advocate of the system of which he is himself the author." Secretary Taft's scheme, pursues Professor James, is desperately Utopian. To imagine that any nation is capable of determining precisely the kind and amount of liberty that is adapted to an alien race, is to enter upon an interminable calculus; while to execute such a policy would require officials "the offspring of a marriage between angels and steam engines." Phrases like "The Philippines for the Filipinos" mean nothing until they are supported by definite engagements. We are dallying with an issue as if we could conceal here a matter perfectly comprehended on the spot. "Benevolent drifting can hardly be more satisfactory than crafty drifting." So Professor James meets counsels of concealment, of procrastination; and, going behind the undoubted good will of Secretary Taft, he points to the real obstacle to the promises of independence—namely, the reluctance to give up power once seized. Sometimes academic persons see real issues rather more clearly than prejudiced philanthropists.

In five years the Philippines have imported \$42,000,000 of rice, exclusive of freight, duty, and other charges. Hardly any rice, in fact, is grown in the islands, although it is the principal food of the natives and the Chinese. The most valuable lands for this kind of culture are lying fallow, while the Burmese growers

are deriving a very tidy profit from the Philippines. This shocking state of affairs could easily be remedied. In the first place, the duty on rice is too low. The way to increase the supply and lower the price is to clap on a higher custom-house rate. That is what a committee which has been looking into the Philippine tariff question advises. But that is not all, for the committee also recommends that rice lands, and the animals needed to cultivate them, be exempted from taxation, and that the necessary machinery be allowed to come in duty free. What a fine chance for American capital! But is it quite certain that the Oriental mind will grasp the reasoning of the American protectionist? How can we make it plain to him that if we double the duty on rice, "this increase would not affect consumers," but would nevertheless "afford some protection to small growers, and might stimulate planting"? What keeps down the rice culture of the islands is the high price of labor, due to our exclusion of the Chinese. Let them in, say certain expatriated and recreant Americans, and rice growing will take care of itself. But to let an industry take care of itself is abominable!

The seventh annual conference for education in the South showed the hold which the educational movement is taking upon the people and the rapidity with which it is spreading. Beginning with the most thoughtful and liberal among Southern statesmen, it has already embraced the leaders in the larger communities, and has become so powerful as to demand consideration from politicians not wholly in sympathy with its objects. Besides educators and philanthropists, men with large commercial interests have been drawn to this work because they have seen a menace to industrial enterprises and business development in the illiteracy in the South, with its accompanying evils of violence and crime. Much is to be hoped from a movement which has enlisted the leading minds of an entire section of the country, so that all other questions of public policy take with them a secondary place; and which harmoniously unites such men as Gov. Montague of Virginia, Gov. Aycock of North Carolina, Gov. Jelks of Alabama, and Bishop Galloway of Mississippi, with educators like President Dabney of the University of Tennessee, President Alderman of Tulane University, President MacIver of the North Carolina State Normal School, Professor Mitchell of Richmond College—in fact, the chief men of all Southern institutions of learning of every class, and for both races. It is a great deal, too, when audiences composed chiefly of Southerners from States where negroes

are in a large numerical majority, will applaud to the echo such sentiments as Bishop Galloway expressed at the Birmingham conference—that negroes must be guaranteed the equal protection of the law, that “a white fiend is as much to be feared as a black brute,” and that the majesty of the law must be sustained. Another element of hope is the growing spirit of recognition of the value of the training which negroes receive at Tuskegee and the industrial departments of Hampton. While the white sentiment in rural communities is still strong against the “educated nigger,” it is gradually coming to recognize the industrial value of a trained workman, and this, in time, must lead to a recognition of the value of a trained brain to direct the trained hand.

This is a good time for everybody interested in wool to review the last seven years. Business is very dull in the market for the raw material, and as for the manufacturers, they are decidedly in the dumps. Shut-downs have already occurred among the mills, and others are threatened if trade does not improve. Part of this is due, of course, to general business conditions, but special causes have also been at work. It was intended that nobody should be treated more generously in the Dingley bill than the wool and woollen interests. But there seems to have been a blunder. Take the case of the dealers: They made large profits in 1897 by speculating in wool in advance of the tariff, but it is a question if the losses of 1898 were not of equal magnitude. The next people to take their profit from the new law were the manufacturers. But their joy was clouded when the growers, in their turn, began “to catch on.” These have laughed last, and also best. Several years ago they succeeded in working up the price of their clips to figures which not only made it hard for the wool merchants to see a profit, but also forced the manufacturers to use cotton very heavily. Last year, wool sold in the West at figures equalling the seaboard prices, and this year the growers are asking fully as much—more in a good many cases. But from the very start the people have set their faces against advance in the price of clothing, and they are less disposed this year than ever to countenance it. With high-priced wool on one hand and short sales of goods on the other, the manufacturer must realize that things are seldom what they seem—especially tariffs.

The official report of the foreign trade of the Chinese Empire for 1902 throws a good deal of light on the causes of the depressed condition of the American cotton mills. Our exports of cotton cloths to China continue steadily to fall off. For March they were less than a

quarter as large as last year. For the nine months since July 1, 1903, they were less than a third what they were the year before. Other exporting nations also fared badly, the Japanese mills being the only ones to increase their shipments to the Chinese markets. Strange as it may appear, in the Chinese trade report the imports of cotton goods for 1903 are figured at 128,620,004 taels, compared with 127,545,309 taels in 1902. But the case is quite different when they are reported by quantity. There were losses ranging from 11 per cent. in drills to 40 per cent. in American sheetings. Merely to state that cotton goods were higher in price does not make the situation plain. The annual trade statement of the Empire is interesting because it reveals why China cannot pay higher prices. Foreign trade in 1903 was disappointing; and it was particularly so in cotton goods. There were large stocks of these in importers' hands when the year began; the extreme fluctuations of exchange and the money stringency made the merchants slow to buy; the country was generally poor from the failure of the silk crop; and the indemnity payments, on account of the Boxer troubles, had a most oppressive effect on taxation. On top of all this came Mr. Sully's performances in the cotton market.

For several reasons, last week's sale of New York city bonds was of much importance. The city's credit was involved, since the average price brought by its  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cents had fallen, within a year, from 104.29 to 100.10; and as the lower price was scored last March on the offer of only \$3,000,000 bonds, some natural misgiving existed as to what rate could be commanded by the recent sale of \$37,000,000. But beyond the problem of the city's credit lay the larger problem of the community's investing power. The financial phenomenon of the past eight months has been the action of great corporations, pressing their notes for discount at 5 and 6 per cent., in a total volume of not less than \$150,000,000, because they could not find a market at former rates for their long-term bonds. This result has been variously ascribed to poverty of the investing public, to the rise in the general rate of interest, and to the mere fact that demands on the resources of the investment market had outrun supply. If any of these three explanations were correct, the bonds of New York city should have suffered along with new railway securities. It is therefore highly reassuring that the city's very large offer of new  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cents should have resulted, first, in the loan being “covered” by bidders six times over, and, second, in an average price fully  $\frac{7}{8}$  of 1 per cent. above that secured in March. The price secured, ranging from 100.79 to 101.53, is

low as compared with 1901 and 1902; but it is distinctly favorable as marking the first real change for the better since the general shrinkage of investment values began in the autumn of 1902. It also clearly signifies that watchful bankers have to some extent regained confidence in the investing public's power and willingness to absorb new issues of securities.

Mr. Cleveland's explanation in the *Saturday Evening Post* of the various circumstances which led up to the contract with the Belmont-Morgan syndicate in February, 1895, is interesting as showing his personal attitude towards the operation, after the lapse of years. That attitude was not left in doubt when uproar over the contract was at its loudest. In his message to Congress, in the following December, Mr. Cleveland affirmed, with characteristic bluntness, that he had “never had the slightest misgiving concerning the wisdom or propriety of this arrangement,” and that he was “quite willing to answer for his full share of responsibility for its promotion.” Furthermore, intelligent financial opinion long ago took the stand that the contract with the syndicate, costly as it unquestionably was to the Government, was at the time the only means of saving its credit to the Treasury and the gold standard to the country. What situation actually confronted the Government's finances may be judged by the fact that one of the organizers of the syndicate, barely a month before, had so far lost hope of preserving the currency standard that, at a bank directors' meeting, he voted to arrange for the formal opening of “gold accounts,” as in the days of irredeemable paper money.

When, however, this is granted, two questions still remain in controversy. It is held by many critics that, had the Treasury been managed, twelve or sixteen months before, with the resolute courage shown in February, 1895, the crisis which led to the contract with the syndicate would never have arisen. It was the earlier hesitation in grappling with the difficulty which did the mischief. The second controverted point concerns the operations of the syndicate itself. It was formed to stop artificially gold exports which were draining the Treasury's reserve, and it was really for this service that the large indirect commission was allowed it. By a very unusual expedient—the banding together of the bankers in exchange, to draw on their European credits for supplying remittances which otherwise would have required gold exports—the syndicate's purpose was achieved during at least six months. The period of respite was important; it allayed existing panic, and it put the Treasury on

its feet again. But it was not a sound or permanent expedient, from a banking point of view. It was an effort to dam up the natural flow of international exchange, and it broke down completely in the end. It had, however, amply served its purpose as an emergency measure.

The Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst has done many things which require courage, but none requiring more than his defence of the higher criticism. This city has just witnessed the close of a singular conference—the Bible League Convention—the professed object of which is protection of the Bible against its trained students. Clergymen and laymen from all parts of the country protested against “assaults” on the Bible—that is, the publication of conclusions reached by many of the most highly trained experts in this country and Europe. This conference, we venture to say, has done more than any of the higher critics to shake the faith of men in the Bible as an infallible and inerrant revelation; for, as Dr. Parkhurst puts it, the addresses “left upon the minds of a good many sincere people the idea that there is a great amount of incompatibility between scholarship and Scripture; that there be certain things about the Bible which, if known, would be embarrassing to the faith; and that turning too much of that searchlight of investigation upon the foundations of Scripture would shake confidence in the stability of the foundations.” One of the Bible defenders dwelt upon the “unparalleled danger” of the present attacks. Serious men may well ask with Dr. Parkhurst, “Danger of what?” The truth is not dangerous, and falsehood is certainly puny.

Professor Briggs's address on theological education frankly stated a truth which the friends of the ministry would do well to ponder seriously. It is that one reason why so few strong men are now being drawn to the ministry is that theological investigation is not allowed to be as free as all other graduate studies. In law, in medicine, in all branches of science, the young student knows that he may pursue his inquiries fearlessly, form his own convictions without let or hindrance, and be sure of a welcome for whatever truth he may be able to discover. It is only in theology that he is given to understand that he will depart from preestablished views at his peril. This cannot but act as a deterrent to an ingenuous and eager mind. In many, of course, the unselfish and religious motives prevail, and lead to a calling where the opportunities for usefulness are so great, even with a good deal of mental galling. But the most conscientious and robust natures—men like Arthur Hugh Clough and Leslie Stephen—feel compelled to prefer intel-

lectual freedom even to spiritual service. The repulsion of such men from the church, to which, at heart, they are so strongly attached, is one of the tragedies of our generation.

Mr. Balfour was asked recently in the House of Commons about the request of a deputation from Manchester that the Government should summon an international conference to consider what could be done for the manufacturers. His reply was far from hopeful. He said that the deputation had laid particular stress on the subject of dealing in “futures,” and he questioned the propriety of calling a conference on that point, “because I doubt whether any good can be done by legislation.” That doubt has confronted every one who has ever seriously tackled the problem. But if anything occurs to Mr. Balfour along other lines, he will do all he can to bring British manufacturers into accord with those of the Continent. Meanwhile, the mill owners are not waiting for the Government to take care of them. Their search for new cotton fields goes steadily on. The outlook, on the whole, is promising. During the cotton famine of 1861-1865, the English manufacturers were still able to utilize Indian cotton, but that is now unsuited to the British market. The question whether India can produce a longer staple is one which is exciting deep interest, both here and in the United Kingdom. The Blue Book recently issued on the cotton situation says that little extension of the industry can be looked for in Egypt, and is silent as regards the Sudan. The really promising regions are Africa and the West Indies, and possibly the Fijis, Borneo, and Cyprus.

In view of Russian reverses in the Far East, the disparity between the alleged terms of the new Russian and Japanese loans is very striking. The Czar's Government will, it is affirmed, place a \$160,000,000 five-year 5 per cent. loan in Paris, and it is somewhat vaguely stated that the bonds “will sell between 98 and 98.50.” Japan's new loan will be of \$50,000,000. The bonds will carry 6 per cent., and will mature in seven years. The “issue price” will probably be 93½, and the bonds will be a first lien on the Japanese customs. Just what commissions the two Governments are to pay to the bankers is not known, but that is probably a minor factor in explaining the great difference in the credit of Russia and Japan. The fact is, France has invested such enormous amounts in Russia in the past that she is obliged to keep on doing so, whereas the financial interest of the outside world in Japan has been insignificant. Besides, the resources of the one country are better known than those of the other. That Japan has a remarkable future may be

admitted, but it is not clear just what lines her industrial development will take. French investors can see at once the sources from which, in the event of the worst, they can make themselves whole. That is why they refused to sacrifice their holdings of Russian securities in the great break in the Paris market of February.

“There is nothing more dangerous in a Pope than piety,” said Père Hyacinthe of Pius X., and the famous preacher added, “when it is not supported by broad and independent knowledge.” These just words apply very well to the Pope's protest against President Loubet's visit to the King of Italy. Theoretically, at least, his Holiness is right. For any Power maintaining diplomatic relations with the Holy See to send its representative to the Quirinal, neglecting the Vatican, is a slight. The King of England and the Kaiser always contrive to make both visits; the Emperor of Austria stays away because he fears to make both and will not make one. But the point is not that Pius X. has a grievance against France; it is rather that, having no effectual means of resenting the slight, he might wisely refrain from empty diplomatic protests. Such action will only embitter the anti-clerical feeling now dominant in French politics, and it may bring about harm to the Church much more substantial than any technical lack of courtesy to the Primate. Of course, the anti-religious propaganda now at its height has naturally been abhorrent to the head of the Church. But as a matter of fact, the comments of Pius X. on the French situation have greatly aided Premier Combes's Neojacobins. It has been a situation to test the skill of a political Pope, which Pius X. apparently is not.

Lord Curzon's spectacular trip about the Persian Gulf receives an interesting commentary in the latest trade figures from Persia. During the fiscal year 1902-3, Russia exported to Persia \$11,500,000, receiving \$12,300,000. Great Britain sent \$10,200,000 to Persia, falling into second place, and imported only \$1,800,000. On any theory of favorable trade balances, Great Britain should be enormously the gainer by so much cold cash, while Russia and Persia are foolishly taking each other's goods. But it is probable that even the ultra-protectionists of Downing Street take very little comfort in a balance attained by decreasing the total British trade with Persia to about half that of Russia. In this case trade figures are a fair index of political influence, and the British look rather foolish fighting the phantom of Russian aggression in Tibet, while Russia is steadily approaching the Persian Gulf by the irresistible processes of trade.

## THE MANTCHURIAN CAMPAIGN.

The evacuation of Niu-Chwang leaves the Japanese masters of the southern coast, for the Port Arthur fleet lies blocked in harbor, and the fortress city is hopelessly cut off from reinforcements from the north. Its reduction appears to be only a matter of time. It is unlikely that its garrison of 22,000 souls can have supplies for many months, and a costly assault may be unnecessary. In any case, we have at this early stage in the war the Japanese in virtual possession of southern Manchuria, and at less cost than ten years ago, when their foe was the despised Chinese.

Gen. Kuropatkin's withdrawal from Feng-Wang-Cheng, the position chosen by himself, indicates that there has never been an adequate army of defence at the south. It seems probable—is hinted in certain dispatches—that Gen. Kuroki with, say, 70,000 men is in superior force at all points of contact. When it is recalled that the War Office at St. Petersburg promised 400,000 troops by May 1, it is clear either that the promise was not made seriously, or that the transportation facilities have been fatally unequal to the demands of war. Possibly the original plan of defence trusted everything to the fleet. On any other theory it is difficult to account for the absence of an adequate garrison at Niu-Chwang, and for the smallness of Kuropatkin's force. The complete collapse of the Russian defence recalls French estimates made early in the war. It was then stated definitely that the Trans-Siberian could feed and supply about 225,000 soldiers, and no more. Recurring news of short rations at Harbin and Mukden supports this estimate strikingly, and the whole Manchurian situation bears out those shrewd Russian observers in academic circles who have seen in the extension of the Empire its weakness.

As for the near future, the retreat upon the railroad at Hal-Cheng is probably only the preparatory step to a general retrograde movement to Liao-yang, or even to Mukden. At Hal-Cheng, Gen. Kuropatkin's communications would be seriously menaced by the Niu-Chwang expedition, which will naturally be the next stage of the Japanese advance. In fact, only some blunder on the Japanese part could prevent him from being caught between convergent attacks from the east, south, and west. It should be noted, too, that, with Niu-Chwang as a base of supplies, the Japanese line of communication will be short and easily guarded, so that, in abandoning Feng-Wang-Cheng, Kuropatkin is sacrificing the traditional advantages of a Russian retreat. It should be said, however, that the seizure of the Liao-tung peninsula throws back to the main army of defence a large body of railroad guards, and that, generally speaking, Kuropat-

kin gains numbers as he retreats. Whether this rather mournful advantage compensates for the loss of the seacoast is more than doubtful, for it is quite possible that the Japanese, once strongly entrenched in southern Manchuria, will simply give the next move to the Russians. And if it has been impossible to maintain a successful defensive across Siberia, the difficulties of assuming the offensive may readily be imagined.

In passing, one or two novel features of the campaign should be touched upon, as well as the renewed talk about the Yellow Peril. Probably warfare has shown no such example of sheer dogged persistency as that displayed in blocking the Port Arthur channel. Attempt after attempt has been made by merchant vessels, supported only by the mosquito fleet, until the outer channel is strewn with perhaps a score of stone-laden hulks. Hobsons were found in plenty among a nation whose customs do not permit Hobsonian rewards. At first sight the expenditure for this end seems enormous, and yet the bottling of the Russian fleet was indispensable if great landing operations were to be conducted in the Liao-tung Gulf; and, after all, the hulks stranded in the Port Arthur roadstead may not together equal the price of a first-class cruiser. This brilliant manoeuvre, then, was based upon that exact calculation of cost and adjustment of means to ends which we may regard as essentially characteristic of the Japanese temperament. Incidentally, it has added a new chapter of gallantry to naval annals.

Naturally, the startling apparition of Japan as a first-class military Power causes consternation among the prophets. The *Spectator* mutters dolorously of the Yellow Peril, which it consents more kindly to call "a very serious and momentous change in the balance of power in Asia." We, for our part, believing that the balance of power in Asia is essentially temporary and vicious, and that the greatest of the continents should learn to govern itself, have welcomed the emergence of Japan from mediævalism and would also welcome the rehabilitation of China. There can be no peril to the world at large simply because the yellow races are learning to fight for their undoubted rights. Peril to certain forms of commercial exploitation, peril to the notion that the yellow races have practically no rights, there is; we grant that freely. As for the dread that China under Japan's guidance will overrun the world, we have Professor Ladd's testimony—he knows the Japanese well—and we have common sense to tell us that this prospect is the most unsubstantial of bogeys.

## COMMISSIONER WARE'S DEFENCE.

The Pension Commissioner petulantly

threatened, not long ago, to have nothing to do with the newspapers if they did not leave off criticising him. This superior attitude towards the press on the part of a writer who once worked for it, is not uncommon. Mr. Ware, however, has so far got over his aversion as to write a letter to the *Sun* giving what must be taken as the Administration's official defence of the pension order. It is, in a word, that the offence has been condoned by Congress. The money was voted to carry out the order, and this, Mr. Ware argues, was equivalent to a vote that the order was "both wise and legal." And he adds that "the right of criticism ends at this point."

We must, nevertheless, point out, in the first place, that the Commissioner is wrong in his facts. What Congress did was to vote \$1,500,000, in the form of a deficiency appropriation, to make good the increased estimate for pensions due to the order in question. That was, in effect, simply to say to the Commissioner of Pensions: "If you must have more money, here it is." Neither house of Congress, and neither party, is going to be put in the attitude of appearing less generous to the old soldier than is the President. But this was to admit nothing as to the real merits of the order. On that question, as Mr. Ware must know, the House—or, at any rate, the Republicans in the House—took an explicit and adverse position. Representative Moon offered an amendment to the Pension bill, incorporating into the act the exact wording of President Roosevelt's order. But it was ruled out on a point of order, and the Republicans voted solidly to sustain the chair. Now, what was the point of order? Why, that the amendment was "contrary to existing law." That was the real verdict of the Republican majority. It would give the money, but it would not declare the order of the President legal. In fact, it declared it contrary to the law.

But it would make no real difference if Congress had approved the order. That would simply show that Congress had abdicated where the President had usurped. Mr. Ware's argument is flimsy. We ask, "Where is the President's authority in law?" The answer is, "Why, Congress took it lying down." What has that got to do with the law? The facts are not as alleged in Commissioner Ware's defence, but if they were, the only inference would be that we were rapidly Mexicanizing our institutions. For the President to assume all power and for Congress meekly to endorse and validate all that he does, is the preferred method in Mexico. By it we have seen a military oligarchy establish itself under the form of a republic. Things have got to such a pass that the Mexican Congress frequently votes President Diaz a sort of blank warrant for all that he may care to do between sessions. That would please Commissioner Ware.

To his mind, it would legalize everything. According to him, the conclusive proof that an act is legal and Constitutional is, that "there is no kick coming" from Congress.

The truth is, of course, that there is no surer way of breaking down the Constitution than by getting Congress to wink at its violations. That is the historic method. In precisely that fashion did Bismarck set his military boot upon the Constitution of Prussia. He boldly spent money on the army without authority of law. Of course, he knew what he was doing. He did not conceal the fact that the King was imperilling the throne, and he himself his own head. But he had as much contempt for danger as he had for paper Constitutions, and went on with a stout heart in his illegal course. Could any subsequent validation of his acts have made them legal? The amiable Mr. Ware would say so, but imagine the scorn of Bismarck himself for any such contentions! He simply bared his sword and the lawyers had to stand aside.

We shall have no such overt and violent trampling on the laws by an American Executive, at least not for a long time; but the threat of radical departures from the old notion of strict conformity to law, and of clearly marked division of powers, lies distinctly in this Bismarckian, or Mexican, conception of doing whatever may be necessary and then getting Congress to add its *visé*. One hears an alarming amount of talk nowadays about written Constitutions having had their day; about musty forms of law no longer being worth considering by a strong ruler bent on doing something for the country's good; and about the people not really caring any more about legality so long as things are "done." That is Commissioner Ware's argument: if the President is not impeached, then *ipso facto* he is law-abiding. The statement sounds absurd, yet it is undoubtedly satisfactory to many people. They say that if Congress does not cry out, if the country is apathetic, it is foolish to appeal to the law. Whatever "goes," must be legal. This insidious plea is making too much progress in capturing the minds of the unthinking to allow such a hollow defence as that of Commissioner Ware's to go without protest. Congress must not be reduced to a mere Presidential echo. If it has no voice and will of its own, it merely cumbars the Capitol. Under the Pension Commissioner's theory of Congressional functions, all real power would be transferred to the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. In that case, we should have to borrow the comment on the Swedish Church made in an old ecclesiastical dictionary. It was: "This Church has no bishops, but it has certain superintendent ministers who take it very kindly to be called so." Similarly we should have to say: "This country has no Congress,

but it has certain validators of the President's acts who take it very kindly to be called so."

#### THE BATTLE OF THE REFEREES.

Many sinister rumors are flying about in regard to the bills to cure the scandalous law's delays in this city. Some of them are manifestly absurd. It is said, for example, that Gov. Odell will veto the bill for Supreme Court Commissioners because Mayor McClellan vetoed the bill for redistricting (and politically plundering) the municipal courts. We are not set for the defence of the Governor, but we refuse to believe him capable of openly making spoils of the judicial system. Nor can we credit the report that one Justice has said that he will appoint Commissioners as soon as he gets his "slate" from the Republican organization. All this is but a part of the attempt that is obviously making on a large scale to confuse the public mind and to hide the actual issues involved, as well as to keep in the background the real motives of the interested parties who are endeavoring to create misconceptions of the intent and effect of the bills in question.

A sufficient answer to nearly all the objections, now raised as if they were great novelties, is to be found in the report of the Commission on the Law's Delays. It is alleged, for example, that the plan received no consideration from the bar. But hundreds of members of the bar appeared before the Commission, or submitted their views to it in writing, and the Bar Association at a regular meeting directed its Judiciary Committee to look into the projects of the Commission. This was done, and the report of the Committee, dated March 28, 1904, by Judge Dillon, chairman, pronounced the plans "well considered and practicable." In like manner it is ignorantly charged that the proposed court commissioners would saddle an expense of \$300,000 or more upon the city of New York. But the Commission's report conclusively shows that the supplanting of referees and condemnation commissioners would result in a large net saving. The Constitutional doubts so suddenly afflicting many of our newspaper jurists we cannot undertake to discuss; but it is laughably clear where most of them have their origin. Vested interests in patronage are at stake. Legal advertising and other perquisites are in the balance. A favored class sees its privileges imperilled. Certain corporations are interested in having the blockade of the courts continue. Hence the troubled dreams of our Constitutionalists of the press.

What we are really witnessing is a hoary abuse fighting against its own abolition. This is natural. It is something

as old as reform. But why try to clothe it in the garb of pained Constitutional scruple—infringement upon the rights and the discretion of the judges? In its essence, it is a clinging to patronage, an obstinate resistance to doing away with the evils of our referee system. All referees are not to be indiscriminately classed as favorites or dividers of the spoils. Among them are men of the highest character and ability, most of whose references come to them at the request of the parties to the case. They are exactly of the type desired for court commissioners, and as such would be able, by the consent of litigants, to do much to clear the calendars. But they are not the ones who are stirring up the present row. That is promoted by patronage-mongers and sharers in the judicial spoils who, between them, have made our referee system the reproach it is—wasteful, dilatory, and politics-ridden.

Memories are so short that people have forgotten what abuses of the power to appoint referees were discovered in the days of Tweed. One of the grounds on which it was sought to impeach a judge of that time was that he habitually named a certain member of the bar as referee, who divided fees with him. The court lists to-day reveal ominous repetitions of suspicious names; and the scarcely concealed interchange of family courtesies between certain judges, in the matter of appointments of referees, has already approximated scandal. To show what political managers of either party think to be the chief end of referees—that class now held up to us as a sacred band, to lay a reforming hand upon which is sacrilege—turn back to Richard Croker's testimony before the Mazet Committee. He gave it as his matured and statesmanlike view that "in all matters of patronage the judges should consider the organization first." Then followed this colloquy:

"Q. Even in the appointment of referees? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. There are able, good Democratic lawyers in the city of New York? A. Yes, sir.

"Q. Enough to fill all the positions as referee? A. All the places.

"Q. And you think that the judges should appoint as referees men who are in line with the Tammany organization? A. All things being equal, they should. Yes, sir, they should give them the preference. . . ."

Let it be understood that this is the abuse which it is proposed to tear up by the roots. Let it be made clear that most of the opposition to this great reform—long under advisement, carefully wrought out, and now on the eve of coming into operation—is of an interested sort. What it really bespeaks is the alarm and anger of men who see plunder escaping them. The bills which the Governor is besought to veto aim at reforming a vicious system, and it cries out in pain. They aim at expediting justice, and those who see their account in retarding it go about artfully to befog the issue. That is, in fact, very simple. It is whether New York is to continue to

lie under the shame and to suffer the losses of a system which denies justice by delay, and to perpetuate iniquities of judicial patronage simply because the beneficiaries cry out that to take away their spoils is to violate the Constitution.

#### THE WESTERN UNION AND THE POOLROOMS.

President Robert C. Clowry's explanations of the complicity of the Western Union in the illegal poolroom business are not even ingenious. A committee of the City Club charged the officers of the Western Union Telegraph Company with wittingly supplying a poolroom with a special wire for illegal purposes, and promising to provide a "fly" operator who would know enough to "drop out of the window" in case the place were raided. The accusation was specific as to names, dates, and places. The wires which were asked for were strung and run down a chimney, in order to attract less notice. Col. Clowry replies, first, that it is the legal duty of the telegraph company to "transmit all messages couched in decent language"; that it "has no right to be a censor of public or private morals." He adds that he is "quite ready to cooperate with the constituted authorities in their effort to suppress crime"; and that "whenever those charged with the enforcement of the law" furnish "in writing" the names of persons engaged in keeping unlawful poolrooms, and "specify the places," the company will on request "cease the transmission of intelligence to such places." In short, whenever one of Col. Clowry's subordinates is caught red-handed, Col. Clowry will obligingly see that he stops violating the law. However, being pressed, in answer to the question whether he will insist on complete legal evidence of the illegality of the supposed gambling resorts, he says: "If Police Commissioner McAdoo will send me a list of places which the police suspect to be poolrooms, I will have the wires taken out of those places." To this, Mr. McAdoo pungently replies that "the responsible men who have charge of the racing department of the Western Union Telegraph Company have a better opportunity to learn, and actually know, more about poolroom men and the poolroom business than any other people in New York." Their employees collect and turn in the tolls daily, including their own wages.

The president of the Western Union likens his company to a railway, which sells tickets to all who apply, without scrutinizing their motives or morals. To make the application: Suppose the head of a gang of burglars went to the general passenger agent of the Pennsylvania Railroad and said, "We intend to crack a safe in Princeton to-night at two o'clock. We want a special engine in order to get out of town quickly. The

engine must be ready with steam up, on a siding behind a shed, at half-past two sharp. We want a 'fly' engineer who knows the business, who will rush her out the minute we get aboard, and who can keep his head if the police make trouble, and pull us through regardless." Suppose the general passenger agent courteously replied, "We understand exactly what you want. We will see that the engine is ready, that it is standing where it will not attract attention, and that you have an engineer who is expert in getting cracksmen safely out of town. We do not sign written contracts in these affairs, and the price of the service will be double; but this is a part of our regular trade, and we guarantee satisfaction." Suppose, also, that in accordance with this verbal agreement the engine were actually on the siding, with steam up, at the appointed time.

Suppose, then, that when the Pennsylvania was publicly accused by responsible people with knowingly and regularly furnishing a special train service for burglars, with deliberately acting as an accomplice in the trade of thieving, President Cassatt were gravely to give to the press a long statement in which he affirmed that the railway was not a censor of public morals; that it made no inquiry about people who bought tickets, if only they were decently clad and soberly behaved; that the railway provided special trains for all who could afford the price, without scrutinizing their motives; and that when the prosecuting attorneys or the police would give written information about intended robberies, and make due request, the Pennsylvania would refuse its Burglars' Special to the persons to whom objection was made. Were President Cassatt to utter any such pitiful, pettifogging plea, his family would not wait for the railway directors to demand his resignation, but would clap him into an insane asylum at once.

President Clowry's reply is a juggle; it confuses the ordinary business of the company with an extraordinary business, of extraordinary profit, for which extraordinary provision is made. Of course, the Western Union cannot scrutinize every message offered it, cannot require a certificate of character from every sender or receiver, cannot probe motives; but when men come to it and ask, explicitly or implicitly, "Will you help me break the law in Room 210 on the second floor of such a building on Broadway," it can lawfully refuse, without a special warning by the police. The ordinary citizen on the street would feel outraged if he were requested to become a partner in crime; but, according to the evidence presented to the City Club, President Clowry's subordinates accept complicity in the criminal poolrooms as a part of their daily occupation, and President Clowry compla-

cently excuses them on the ground that they are not moral censors.

This is a moral question, a question of rudimentary decency and honesty. President Clowry must have singularly misjudged the ability of ordinary people to grasp an elementary proposition when he declared to a reporter of the *Herald*, "It is all nonsense to try to put this matter on a moral basis. The officials of the Western Union Telegraph Company are not moral censors, and the courts have held that they cannot take that position. The company has wares to sell, and any one who can pay for them can buy them, and he will not be asked to what church he belongs." This, of course, is infantile sophistry. No one cares to what church President Clowry and his subordinates belong; but every man in this country—even an official of the Western Union—ought to be a moral censor, if, as President Clowry implies, a moral censor is a person who possesses the negative virtue of refusing to be an accomplice in crime. Law-abiding men, lovers of decency and order, must evidently appeal from President Clowry to his superiors, the directors. Do men like Morris K. Jesup, Jacob H. Schiff, and James H. Hyde accept as a conclusive dismissal of the grave and detailed accusations President Clowry's general denial, "I do not believe any fair-minded person will suppose that the Western Union Telegraph Company would willingly become a party to any criminal undertaking"? Do the directors accept the proposition that, because the company is not a censor of morals, it is therefore at liberty to enter a conspiracy with criminals? If President Clowry really utters such a theory of recklessness and lawlessness for the conduct of a great corporation like the Western Union, neither directors nor stockholders need be astonished at popular clamor for a Government management of telegraphs that shall shut out thieves and swindlers as they are now excluded from the mails.

#### GOVERNMENT MORE COSTLY.

The April Treasury statement shows that Secretary Shaw's estimate of a \$14,000,000 surplus for the present fiscal year is hardly likely to be verified. The surplus on May 1 was \$2,458,572, leaving about \$11,500,000 to be made up in the next two months. One instinctively asks what this signifies regarding the future. Secretary Shaw has come out on the right side, so far, in his estimates of revenue. His error was in the matter of expenditures, which to date have proportionately exceeded those of the previous fiscal year. Since Congress has allowed for a margin of only \$6,000,000 over expenditures next year, the financial outlook for that period is shrouded in doubt. Paying for a big army and navy and great public works may

present problems of unexpected difficulty.

The British Government is now in a similar plight. The speeches called forth in Parliament by Mr. Austen Chamberlain's budget reveal a situation strikingly resembling ours. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman showed that the nation's expenditures had risen from £93,000,000 in 1895 to the £142,000,000 estimated for the coming fiscal year; that is, about 53 per cent. Going somewhat into particulars, Sir Henry pointed out that the amount spent on the navy increased from £9,400,000 in 1870 to £17,600,000 in 1895, the estimate for 1905 being £42,100,000. Between 1870 and 1890 our own disbursements for naval purposes averaged not far from \$20,000,000 a year, but in the nineties a great stride forward was taken, and last December Secretary Shaw estimated them for 1905 at over \$103,000,000. It is the same story with the army. The British expenditure on this account rose from £12,300,000 for 1870 to £18,700,000 for 1895, and to £32,500,000 for 1905. Proportionately, we have far outdistanced Great Britain since 1895. Our army expenses were about \$51,000,000 at that time, but for 1905 the Treasury's estimate was over \$126,000,000.

Thus in piping times of peace the British Government, like our own, finds its expenditures on a war basis. But who is responsible, and what is the remedy? Both questions were discussed at great length in the budget speeches. One speaker inferentially charged that the whole thing was a plot of the protectionists. "The budget," he said, "was protectionist in spirit and intention; the same policy of piling up expenditure had been pursued in the United States in order to provide a secure basis for the schemes of the great American financiers." Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, on the other hand, believed no blame could be attached to any of the recent Chancellors of the Exchequer. Neither Mr. Austen Chamberlain nor Mr. Ritchie, his predecessor, created the expenditures. And as for himself, during his long administration of the office, he had repeatedly raised his voice in warning at the way the bills were running up. Sir Henry Fowler quoted Lord Beaconsfield's remark that "finance is a question of policy," and said that it was not the Chancellor of the Exchequer's place to settle the policy of the Government. In his opinion, the Prime Minister was responsible for the growing expenditures. The speeches as a whole brought out the fact that things have been about as much at sixes and sevens in Great Britain, in the matter of appropriating public money, as in this country.

But while it is easy to see causes of the present situation, it is difficult to find remedies. That the nation is spending too much money is obvious. The

army and navy are making the taxpayers sweat, but what public men advocate measures that will curtail the outlay on them? Mr. Haldane called attention to the fact that local and imperial taxation amounts to £190,000,000, or 10 per cent. on the national income. He wanted a commission to report whether the taxes are being levied in a just fashion, but he spoke dejectedly regarding expenditures; it was no use having an inquiry on this subject, "because expenditure depended on policy." There is the rub. The policy—who can change that? Even so resourceful a man as Mr. Haldane could suggest only that an effort be made to persuade the great Powers to check naval expenditures.

The friends of protection are continually telling us that this is not a poor man's country, and that we can stand a good deal of taxation. Our British cousins should take refuge in that comfort also. Mr. Austen Chamberlain tells them that they must look not merely at the growth of expenditure, but also at the nature of the bills they are now paying; and they must remember, too, their increased capacity to bear taxation. If John Bull does that, he will see that, heavy as is his load, it is relatively no greater than that borne by those "who lived in the halcyon days of the sixties, when gentlemen opposite seemed to think all things went well." Possibly, however, he may be so thick-headed as to believe a 5 penny income tax preferable to one of 12 pence.

#### THE ITALIAN SOCIALISTS.

FLORENCE, April 24, 1904.

The importance of the Socialistic organization in the eyes of this nation may be deduced from the fact that, as soon as the Congress of Socialists, to be held in Bologna on the 8th of April, was announced, all the principal journals devoted a series of articles to the discussion of the history of Socialism in Italy; and that, during the sittings of the Congress, the ultra-monarchical *Nazione* of Florence and the *Giornale d'Italia* of Rome, relegating the Russo-Japanese war, the advent of the German Emperor, the preparation for the reception of Loubet, even the Nasi scandal and the report of the Benadir inquiry, to the third and fourth pages, gave up the entire first and often the second to the discussions of the Congress, finishing up each day with a leading article on the chances of the prevalence now of this, now of that, party of Socialists. The special interest of the general public is explained by the widespread desire to ascertain which party would obtain the majority of votes—whether the evolutionists, headed by Turati and Bissolati, who maintain that the rights and liberties of the proletariat, the amelioration of their moral, mental, and physical conditions, can be secured only gradually, by successive substantial reforms, to be attained by working within the limits and by use of the instruments of the social structure as it exists to-day, by taking part in the communal, provincial, and State organiza-

tions, by availing of the assistance of other parties, by supporting a ministry inclined to concede or to adopt a proposed reform, would prevail; or whether the revolutionary party, which rejects all such instruments and sees no chance for the proletariat save in the destruction of all existing institutions, the total demolition of the capitalist and the *borghesia*, and the advent to power of the proletariat *en bloc*.

The ascendancy of the revolutionists, though denounced in the last congress at Imola, has been virtually increasing since the direction of the party fell into the hands of Ferri, who succeeded Bissolati as editor of the *Avanti*, the daily organ of the Socialists in Rome. Not that Ferri has ever admitted himself to be an out-and-out revolutionist, as does Labriola; but his actions prove him to be so, and his influence on the masses, impatient through suffering and credulous through ignorance, has led them to distrust more and more the efforts of the reformers, to incline increasingly to violent measures, to reckless strikes, to impotent resistance resulting in bloodshed and arrests, and to increasing friction with the employers of labor—with the effect of diminishing sympathy for their sufferings on the part of individuals and classes hitherto inclined to assist them. Yet Ferri has never scored a success by his agitation. Moreover, during the "universal strike" at Rome he "sat upon the fence," whereas he might have prevented that disastrous and criminal struggle, detailed in a former letter to the *Nation*, which resulted in the demolition of its chief author, Pargagnoli.

The convocation of a congress earlier than had been intended was promoted by the chiefs of the extreme sections, and especially by the reformers; seeing that the indecision of the working-class and agricultural organizations, produced by the contending currents, paralyzed all attempts to carry out the reforms pronounced urgent and indispensable, and must in the end plunge the masses into anarchy. Ferri, when the congress was decided on, notified his adhesion if, as a preliminary, the absolute unity of the Socialistic party should be proclaimed, and a motion was presented at the opening of the congress. No! said the reformers. First let us state our intentions and programme clearly and sincerely; then if there be a possibility of working together on parallel lines towards the same goal, we shall gladly avoid an open and public rupture, which will, we are aware, dismay the uncultured masses. But if such proclamation of unity is to fetter our determined line of action, make us responsible for doctrines and deeds which we deny and deplore, then we shall choose separation as the least evil, convinced that our policy in action will bring over to our ranks many who now are wavering between that action and the unrealizable methods of the revolutionists (alias anarchists). The desire of the Reformists was that, after a simple declaration of the several methods of the two parties, each being left free to follow their separate paths, the congress would discuss the important questions proposed at Imola to be studied and reported on by special commissioners, viz., the railway problem (governmental or private ownership); the tributary problem; the abolition of the octroi or city tax on food; the substitution of a progressive income

tax; the amount of income to be exempted; labor contracts; the industrial and agricultural organizations; the attitude to be assumed towards the influx of congregationists expelled from France; the problem of primary and secondary education, the really popular school for the masses; the crusade against alcoholism; the attitude of Socialists towards freemasonry, etc. The reporters had performed their tasks conscientiously, and each argument was of importance to the working classes, but no time was found for the bare reading, still less for the discussion of the report; the whole of the four days being occupied with the speeches of the adherents of the extreme parties, and still more with the introduction of other two "tendencies" suggested by a Left Centre and a Right Centre, new "fences" constructed by Ferri.

After the unanimous election of Andrea Costa, the veteran Republican and sincere Socialist, and two vice-presidents, Bissolati was called upon to present the order of the day of the reformers (or Reformists, as they are called). It was brief and succinct:

"The Congress reaffirms the autonomy of the Socialists as the party of the proletariat class, whose object is its redemption from the oppressive tyranny of capitalism; and that it will retain this character exclusively, whatever direction the bourgeois government may assume. It declares, moreover, that, while preserving this distinctive characteristic, it will lend its support to ministries which offer sufficient guarantees for the conquest by the proletarians of those reforms of which at a given moment they have the most urgent need. As to existing institutions, the Congress declares that the party will continue to work within and by means of them, reserving the right to work for their overthrow if and when they present themselves as an obstacle to the proletarian vindication."

In his brief speech Bissolati referred to the demand of their adversaries that the party should clearly and decisively affirm its antimonarchical character, and propagate the conviction that proletarian redemption and monarchy are irreconcilable; but the reformers had already declared not only that the finality of the proletarian redemption could not be attained under a monarchy, but that not all the reforms proposed by the radicals in their Roman congress could be carried into execution (for example, the principle of eligibility to all the offices of state, including, of course, that of kingship).

The order of the day presented by Labriola in the name of the revolutionists was as follows:

"Reaffirming the permanent and intransigent revolutionary character of the party of the proletariat in opposition to the bourgeois state [the term *bourgeoisie* now comprises all classes outside the proletariat], the Congress declares that the transformation of the political organization of the proletariat into a parliamentary, opportunist, constitutional and possibly monarchical organization is a degeneration of the socialistic spirit, inconsistent with the spirit of class warfare, with the very essence of the conquest by the proletarians of the Government (*pubblici poteri*). Hence it repudiates collaboration with any other class—not only participation in any monarchical government, but also systematic support of any bourgeois government, whatsoever tendencies it may evince, even if reforms proposed may be partially useful to the working classes."

Then succeeded an explicit command to combat monarchy in all its manifestations, to pursue the propaganda against it among

the masses. The congress was called upon to reaffirm its resolve to renounce none of its offensive and defensive weapons against the Government, reserving methods of violence in case of necessity.

The two orders of the day being put to the vote, that of Bissolati obtained a fourth more adhesions than that of Labriola, thus confirming the preponderance of the reforming over the revolutionary theories. Neither, however, having received the absolute majority of votes necessary, the orders of the day of the two Centres were submitted—Rigola's with a marked tendency towards the reformers, and Ferri's with a decided adhesion to the doctrines of the revolutionists save as to the use of violence; and the latter, after a debate in which Turati also spoke with severity and some sarcasm, carried off a quarter more votes than the former, and victory was proclaimed for the revolutionists.

The public discussion of the results of the congress continued with unabated vigor during the interval between its close and the arrival of Loubet; the revolutionists accentuating their refusal to coöperate with other classes by forbidding Socialists to participate even in the ballot between the republican and monarchical candidates for the vacant college of Forlì—thus securing the election of the monarchical candidate, by eight votes—while the Reformists continue to form and to organize sectional and regional committees based on perfect autonomy, so that while all accept the fundamental doctrines of Socialism, Sardinian Socialists provide for the special needs of their province, even as do Milan, Bologna, etc., and all await the presentations of the new organic reforms promised by the Giolitti Ministry. The nominal victory is for Ferri, but the substantial results are for the Reformists, who, by working within and without Parliament for the maintenance of pacific organization, will support the Radicals, the Republicans, and the ministerial party in promoting and carrying into effect the urgent reforms which have hitherto been retarded. The organization of the southern provinces, which Zanardelli had so much at heart, will be seriously studied, and there seems some hope that more success will attend the efforts of the present Ministry than has even been attained by its predecessors. On this the heart of the King is bent, and he not only urges his Ministry on the reforming path, but separately and diligently studies each bill, each plan of reform, before giving his signature to any.

For the moment, every class of the whole country is rejoicing in the presence of the President of republican France. The welcome given to him is unanimous and enthusiastic, because, after the fall of the Second Empire and the withdrawal of French troops from Rome, there was no cause or reason for hostility between the two Latin races; and since the French republic has accentuated its opposition to any interference of the Church with the State, all possibility of assisting in the restoration of the temporal power is at an end. The rupture in commercial relations between the two countries was brought about suddenly and unjustifiably by the personal rule of Crispi. Zanardelli opposed it from the first moment. The young King has done everything to promote a return to a

cordial understanding, and the renewal of commercial relations was the first fruits of his efforts. No direct political alliance, no military offensive policy, will be aimed at. The Triple Alliance remains intact, the presence of the Emperor of Germany in Italian waters proving the immense importance that he attaches to it. Naturally, the Pope and the Catholic party object to the enthusiastic welcome given by the entire Italian nation to the head of "a persecuting government"; but the present Pope, while forbidding Catholics in Rome to take part in the welcome, has also discountenanced any contrary demonstrations. He is not a political Pope; he certainly will not reopen a crusade for the recovery of the temporal power; he is sick to death of his enforced imprisonment, and if, without endangering the spiritual interests of the Church, he can find a "live and let live" solution, he will assuredly promote it.

On the whole, therefore, the Italian horizon is clear, its foreign relations satisfactory; hence fresh assurances are given for the unity of Italy making for the peace of Europe.

J. W. M.

#### MARSHAL DE LUXEMBOURG.—I.

PARIS, April 20, 1904.

M. Pierre de Ségur has published in succession two volumes on the Marshal de Luxembourg: 'La Jeunesse du Maréchal de Luxembourg,' 'Le Maréchal de Luxembourg et le Prince d'Orange.' He now gives us the conclusion of his biography under the title of 'Le Tapisserie de Notre-Dame,' a title which requires explanation. Since the sixteenth century it has been the custom to hang in the vault of Notre-Dame the flags taken by the French armies. D'Aubigné tells us, in his memoirs, that the great Coligny, finding himself at Notre-Dame, showed La Damville the flags captured from the Huguenot army at Moncontour and said, "It is time to take these flags away and to replace them with more suitable ones"—meaning the flags which he expected would be taken from the Spanish armies. During the reign of Louis XIII., the flags of Casal, of Brisach, of Rocroy were hung in Notre-Dame. The flags of past victories used to be replaced by those of the most recent. There remain now very few of these ancient trophies. A flag from Rocroy is still preserved at Chantilly, in the great "Galerie des Batailles." Another is kept at Cluny, where it was sent by Viollet-le-Duc.

The name of "Tapisserie de Notre-Dame" was given to the Marshal de Luxembourg, whose military career was exceedingly brilliant. In a first volume M. de Ségur has told us the beginning of it:

"If," he says, "the treaty of Nimeguen (August 10, 1678) can be said to have marked the climax of the glory and the power of the reign, a reflex of this halo falls on the great captain to whom the King owed a good part of the final triumph. As a general, nobody contested the first rank to Luxembourg; and even outside of this prestige, his illustrious birth, his superior mind, and even the fear which people felt of his terrible sarcasm—all united to give him at court a unique place, higher than any other. Even in public, his name was on all lips. His high feats in Holland, the sort of fanaticism which he inspired in his soldiers, the singularities of his physique and of his character, marked him for the curiosity of the crowd."

In his splendid domain at Ligny, in Lor-

raine, Luxembourg led a royal life; in Paris, in his great hôtel in the Rue St. Honoré, he kept a real court. His sister was the famous Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. There was a dark cloud in his clear sky. Louvois had become his enemy. This enmity was veiled, but all the more bitter. Louvois found an occasion to strike his adversary in the famous "Affair of the Poisons," which has lately been described with so many details by M. Funck-Brentano. "On this extraordinary affair," says M. de Ségur, "so dark and complicated, I do not hope to throw complete light; my ambition is only to trace its great lines."

After the execution of the too famous Marchioness of Brinvilliers everybody looked for her accomplices and imitators. Suspicion was the order of the day. Bussy-Rabutin writes in a letter of April 28, 1679: "A crowd of charlatans has been multiplying in the capital, often drawing to their haunts numerous and brilliant customers." A *chambre ardente* was appointed to make an inquest. It was composed of eight councillors of state and six assistants. The president of this special court of inquiry was Boucherat, who afterwards became chancellor. The famous La Reynie, who was so long the head of the police, was one of the two reporters. The inquiry was conducted with great secrecy. At first only very vulgar people were examined, but from the beginning the name of Luxembourg was pronounced. "For *populi*," says one of Bussy-Rabutin's correspondents, "has accused Luxembourg for eight months, and you know well that in this country [Burgundy] very ugly rumors have been abroad." The truth is, that Luxembourg was not liked personally; his private conduct was bad. His imagination drew him towards the occult science of alchemy. He mixed with very bad company, and kept near him a sort of buffoon, an adventurer, who had once been tried for making false money. This man, called François Bouchard, who had assumed the name of Viscount of Montemayor, amused Luxembourg. He also played the part of a spy, and helped his master in all sorts of intrigues. We must not be surprised to see an inveterate skeptic, a thorough "libertin," like Luxembourg, consulting Bouchard respecting the future. "Libertinage," which would nowadays be called free-thinking, was often associated in the seventeenth century with the grossest superstitions. Astrology was always in honor in the highest circles.

Luxembourg was very intimate, also, with a young relation of his, a Marquis de Fouquières, whom St. Simon paints thus: "He was a man of quality, of much wit, of great courage, to whom nobody denied great qualities as a soldier, but the most wicked man that lived under the sky." He speaks of his corrupt heart, of his perversity. Luxembourg made through him the acquaintance of the woman Vigoureux, a friend of the prisoner Voisin and of some other dangerous characters, and among others of a Marquise du Ponté, of the magician Lesage. The latter was examined by the commission of inquiry and the name of Luxembourg emerged. I cannot go into all the details of this examination and others; it is enough to say that Louvois had an interview with Luxembourg and proposed to him to leave France. The marshal boldly refused, and asked to be sent to the Bastille; he was

treated there with great severity. No proof of any sort was found against Luxembourg, but Louvois persisted in keeping him at the Bastille on the plea of speculation and fabrication of false money. He expected that the woman Voisin would make new revelations. She was burned in the Place de Grève without having said a word which could implicate Luxembourg. Her silence gave courage to the friends of the marshal, and the Prince de Condé came forward, protesting the total innocence of his cousin. The mother, the sister, the wife of the prisoner, obtained an audience from Louis XIV., who received them kindly and told them to be patient.

Luxembourg was still detained, but no longer as an accomplice of the prisoners. After some new examinations of Lesage and others, he appeared in person before the *chambre ardente*. He said to the judges: "Gentlemen, I went voluntarily to the Bastille to justify myself against the false, horrible, and absurd accusations which have been made against me. If you find that I have not victoriously destroyed them, I have only one favor to ask: it is to make my bonds stronger, till the whole nation knows that I have never shown a weakness unworthy of a man of my rank towards the miserable people with whom I have been accused of being very closely united." After these words he returned at once to the Bastille. The judges unanimously pronounced his innocence. Luxembourg was not, however, allowed to reappear at court. He went into exile at Piney; he was not allowed even to come within twenty leagues of Paris. He affected to feel no irritation against Louvois, and to show indignation only against La Reynie.

The trial of Luxembourg became the subject of many clandestine pamphlets, especially in Holland. He was accused of holding communications with the devil. A sort of legend was created in Germany, in which Luxembourg appears as a Doctor Faust. At his château in Piney, Luxembourg was occupied with arranging his pecuniary affairs. He found himself in great difficulties, but was saved from them by the intervention of the Prince de Condé. Great efforts were made by his family and his friends to bring him back to court; the obstinate enmity of Louvois prevented their success. Madame de Montespan triumphed for a moment over Louvois, and Louis XIV. summoned Luxembourg to Versailles. "Sir," were the first words of the King, "we will not speak of the past. I will mark my belief in your good conduct by confiding my person to your hands." The King by these words alluded to the function of captain of the bodyguard, which the Marshal had to exercise six days after his return.

The whole court rushed to call on Luxembourg—Louvois, among others, who was very well received. The Marshal was appointed in September, 1688, governor of the Province of Champagne, and received the order of the Holy Spirit. When the coalition was reformed against France, in 1688, the Prince of Orange had become the King of Great Britain; Condé was dead; but Louvois, who was all-powerful, gave no command to Luxembourg and kept him in pompous inaction at Versailles. Necessity soon came to the help of the Marshal. At the end of 1689 the fortune of war had declared itself against the French arms; when the campaign of 1690 was beginning,

the name of Luxembourg was on all lips, and Louis XIV. declared himself in his favor, and placed him at the head of the army of Flanders. Louis XIV. informed Luxembourg of his resolution. "Sir," he said to him at Versailles, "I confide in you, as you are fortunate." "Who would not be so," answered Luxembourg, "in the service of your Majesty?" At the same time, Marshal de Lorge replaced the incompetent Duras on the Rhine; Catinat was sent to the army of Italy; Lauzun was to lead an expedition to Ireland.

The campaign in Flanders began in May. The Marshal took leave of the King on the 11th, and marched in the direction of Brussels. William of Orange was still in London, Waldeck had the command in his place at Brussels. On the 29th of May the French vanguard arrived under the walls of Hal, a few leagues from Brussels. This little place was evacuated by the troops which occupied it. William heard the news on his arrival from England. Louvois sent the severest orders. He desired Luxembourg to destroy with mortars and guns charged with red-hot shot the ancient capital of Brabant. He wished to strike terror among the population of Flanders. Such were not the sentiments of Luxembourg. Speaking of these populations, he wrote: "They publish openly that they would like to be under the rule of the King"; and, in another letter: "As for myself, thinking that a bombardment is an evil for those who are subject to it, without any fruit for those who inflict it, I assure you that I should not heartily undertake the bombardment of Brussels. . . . I should do it only with the painful feeling that it would effect but little, and that meanwhile the Prince of Orange would make operations advantageous to himself and very detrimental to the service of his Majesty." After reading Luxembourg's dispatches, Louis XIV. revoked the severe instructions given by Louvois.

## Correspondence.

### ALL HEROES' DAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The question is often asked, "What national holidays are there in the United States?" The answer is that there are none, since none are appointed by the nation, though there are several holidays of really a national character, as being observed by all the States. The following days are kept without exception by the forty-five States and the District of Columbia: July 4, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. February 22 is kept by all, if I am correctly informed, with the exception of Mississippi. January 1 is a holiday except in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Also, some day of memorial for the soldiers of the civil war has probably universal observance. In the North, May 30 is fixed for Memorial Day, but in the South, where the season is earlier, April 26 or a date even earlier is assigned.

There are thus six days of practically national character—New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. The recent fall holiday, the first Monday in September (often called Labor Day), has been quickly adopted by all except Vermont,

Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Nevada, and North Dakota.

From time to time new holidays are suggested in honor of great national heroes. Lincoln's birthday is now observed by the following States: Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, North Dakota, Wyoming, and Washington. But February 12 is too near February 22 for the day to become popular. Several of the Southern States observe January 19, the birthday of their noble leader, Gen. Robert E. Lee. In the first fervor of sympathy in the brave death of President McKinley, his birthday, January 29, was suggested for national observance. That of Gen. Grant, April 27, has also been proposed.

It is evident, however, that we cannot multiply our holidays indefinitely, and that the accidental date of a great man's birth may be a very inconvenient time for celebrating his achievements. Why should not one day of general observance be adopted, to be called, perhaps, All Patriots' Day, or All Heroes' Day? The Church long since found this solution of the problem of commemorating her numerous worthies. There were not days enough in the calendar for all, but the general festival of All Saints' Day (November 1) suffered none to be omitted.

An All Heroes' Day would permit every State and community to pay fitting honors to its own worthies as well as to men and women of national reputation. By the co-operation of the school and the press from year to year, different patriots, writers, inventors—all who have helped the common welfare—might receive that commemoration, not which their lives need, but which an intelligent and grateful people need to give to the makers of their history. As there are now no holidays between the first Monday in September and the last Thursday in November, a convenient date would be the Monday nearest to the fifteenth of October.

Some suggestion like the one here outlined has presumably been made before this, but none has come to my notice. A move in this direction is the "Patriots' Day" observed of late in Massachusetts on April 19, the anniversary of the battles of Lexington and Concord, but this is naturally a commemoration of the Revolutionary heroes alone.—Truly yours,

FRANCIS LESEARE PALMER.

STILLWATER, MINN., May 5, 1904.

[We print this for the information it contains (though we do not vouch for it), but we cannot profess sympathy with the proposal, even as a check to the absurd and mischievous multiplication of holidays. The moral significance (witness Memorial Day) would be quickly lost in a holiday pure and simple; and spare us more empty names and forms from which the spirit has gone out. We have annual exemplification of the complete failure of those who celebrate in speeches Grant's and Lincoln's birthdays, or Forefathers' Day, to understand the true greatness of the men commemorated.—ED. NATION.]

#### THE GERMAN WOMAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The diagnoses of the mental and emotional equipment of German women revealed in Christine Ladd Franklin's letter, published in this week's *Nation*, are not prejudiced so much by no knowledge at all of German women, as they are by an utter ignorance of the "large average of the population." She professes to have known many German women of the utmost culture and charm. Any nation that can produce many women of the "utmost culture and charm" is certainly not in danger of impeding the "onward march of women towards the ideal"; and this numerical testimony should be sufficient to save any country from being accused of producing, even "in the large average of the population," a class of women who have nothing better to recommend them to the men of a leading nation than "stolidity."

I am an American, born of German parents. I have been brought in contact with many German women in this country who were and are not "women of the utmost culture," but many of them were charming, and the very smallest minority of them were stolid. The women I have a personal knowledge of, with whom I became acquainted while studying in Germany, besides my aunts and cousins there, are the wives and daughters of farmers, mechanics, merchants, teachers, professors, clergymen, and professional men, and certainly none of them are stolid, stupid, or cowardly. They compare very well with the same class of women of Irish, or American, or English, or Scotch parentage in this country.

It seems a little puzzling to me for an American lady to say: "It is fine when a German man defends his fellow-countrywomen against the charge of stolidity." Why so? Germany is quite as civilized a place as France, England, or America; and German men love and honor their women at least as much as men of other nations do.

What are "the highest forms of civilization" in so far as the "ideal development of men and women" are concerned? Is it femininity? German women with German men say, No! Are they stolid on that account? Princess Bismarck was a typical German woman and mother. She was not stolid. There are many like her in the Fatherland. There are many like her in this country. If to understand and comfort their men be stolidity, let's thank God that German women are stolid.

Very respectfully yours,

DR. ADOLPH RUPP.

NEW YORK, May 5, 1904.

#### AN EARLY AMERICAN MUSIC STORE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In his notice of Mr. Elson's 'History of American Music,' your reviewer repeated after him: "There were no music stores before the nineteenth century" (*Nation*, April 7, p. 276). The following extract is part of an advertisement which appeared in the *Maryland Journal* of August 6, 1794, No. 1725 (p. 3/2):

"Musical Repository, Market-Street, near Gay-Street, Baltimore. J. CARR, Music Importer, LATELY FROM LONDON, Respectfully informs the public that he has opened a Store entirely in the Musical line, and has for SALE, Finger and barrel organs, double

and single key'd harpsichords, piano forte and common guitars."

ALBERT MATTHEWS.

Boston, May 6, 1904.

#### SHAKSPERE'S SEABOARD OF BOHEMIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: For three centuries the learned and unlearned have been puzzling or chuckling over the coast of Bohemia in the "Winter's Tale." May I venture to offer a possible simple explanation of Shakspeare's apparent ignorance?

When he wrote the play (probably in 1610-11), the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II. was just approaching the end of his long reign. In 1609 he had been forced to grant to his Bohemian Protestant subjects the famous "Majestätsbrief," or Edict of Toleration—an event which must have stirred Protestant England. It is inconceivable that Shakspeare could have been ignorant of these happenings in Bohemia. The importance of the rôle that Bohemia was playing at the time must have been as patent to him as it was, to say the least, to the average educated Englishman. The Austrian realm under the Hapsburgs extended from Brandenburg on the north to the Adriatic on the south, and from Alsace on the west to Upper Hungary on the east, the centre of Hungary being then in the hands of the Turks. The largest constituent of the monarchy was the Kingdom of Bohemia, the so-called realm of St. Wenceslas, which, in addition to Bohemia, embraced Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia. Rudolph II., the head of the house of Austria in Shakspeare's time, during the greater part of his reign held his court, which was graced by the presence of such men as Kepler and Tycho Brahe, and famed throughout Europe, at Prague, the Bohemian capital. Is it, then, at all surprising that Shakspeare did not discriminate sharply between Austria and Bohemia, and in a general way substituted Bohemia for Austria? As an analogy, the house of Savoy figured from 1720 down to 1860 as the Kingdom of Sardinia, although the island of Sardinia was but a comparatively insignificant part of it.

Supposing that Shakspeare had said that the Mediterranean washed the shores of Castile, would literary historians have accused him of the same ignorance of geography which has so long been unjustly laid to his charge? While it is true that scene iii. of act iii. is specifically laid in "Bohemia: A desert country near the sea," throughout the play "Bohemia" is used indiscriminately for the country and its ruler ("the King of Sicilia means to pay Bohemia the visitation which he justly owes him," act i., scene i., etc.). Do not, at the present day, French and, for that matter, American journalists speak of the Prussians when they really mean the Germans? And how about Flanders? Is not the name of this small region used by historians for the Low Countries in general? And how about Burgundy? Supposing Shakspeare had taken Charles the Bold of Burgundy as the hero of a tragedy, would he have been held up to ridicule if he had chosen to speak of the North Sea as washing the shores of Burgundy, meaning thereby the coast of Flanders and Holland?

Amid the mass of conjectures as to Shakspeare's meaning, referred to by Furness, it is curious to find one, from the *Monthly Magazine* of January, 1811, which argues that there was "no breach of geography," in the following manner:

"In the year 1270 the provinces of Styria and Carniola were dependent on the crown of Bohemia. Rudolph, who became King of the Romans in 1273, took these provinces from Ottokar, the King of Bohemia, and attached them to the possessions of the house of Austria. The dependencies of a large empire are often denominated from the seat of Government; so that a vessel sailing to Aquileia or Trieste might, in the middle of the thirteenth century, be correctly described as bound for Bohemia."

Now, the memory of this ephemeral union of the thirteenth century (it lasted barely twenty-five years) could not possibly have lingered in the England of Shakspeare's time, and it is really surprising that the ingenuity of the only commentator who appears to have been on the right track stopped short at this approximation to what would seem to be the rightful explanation. Dr. Furness himself, by the way, in the preface to his edition of the "Winter's Tale," rather singularly remarks: "Sicilia is Sicilia and Bohemia is Bohemia; and the one is no more on the mainland than the other is on the seacoast"; apparently forgetting that, for centuries before Shakspeare's time, the southern part of the Italian mainland had come to be known as "Sicily on this side of the Faro" (the Strait of Messina), whence arose the designation of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Most likely the great Shakspeare scholar had in mind the island of Sicily itself; but in any case his phrase goes to show that geographical terms are used loosely to-day just as they were in Shakspeare's time. X.

## Notes.

Jacques Rosenthal, 10 Karl Strasse, Munich, will shortly issue Part I. of a Supplement to Hain and Copinger's 'Repertorium Bibliographicum' of incunabula. This section alone will contain more than 400 items unknown to these editors, together with many corrections and annotations. The second part will follow in the course of three or four months. The edition will be limited, yet the price is moderate. Prof. Dr. Dietrich Reichling has it in charge.

Harper & Bros. announce 'The First of Empires: "Babylon of the Bible" in the Light of Latest Research,' by W. St. Chad Boscawen; and 'The Gems of the East,' viz., the Malay Archipelago, by A. Henry Savage Lander.

Brentano's will publish directly G. Bernard Shaw's 'Man and Superman'; 'How to Illustrate,' by Charles Hope Provost; and 'Tristan and Isolde,' a tragedy in five acts, by Louis Kaufman Anspacher.

Even the 'Statesman's Year-book' (Macmillan) has been drawn into the politico-financial vortex in Great Britain. The current issue opens with a series of tables, maps and diagrams intended to show without bias "the conditions of British trade and shipping from 1860 down to the present date." Another novelty is the assignment of Panama to a separate place as a world-power. One naturally turns to the chapter on Japan, with its sub-section "Defence," but here the data for the Imperial army are

no later than December 31, 1900. "The strength of the navy," we read, "lies in its homogeneous armored ships backed up by a large destroyer flotilla"; and Japan is now building her own protected cruisers and destroyers, and will soon be able to construct battleships. A footnote on page 1053 records the fate of the *Retvisan* and the *Tsesarevitch*, torpedoed on February 8. This, we believe, is the only echo of the great duel now in progress in the Far East. For the rest, this standard book of reference maintains its character for usefulness and authority.

The fourth volume of "The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb," edited by E. V. Lucas (G. P. Putnam's Sons), contains the 'Specimens of English Dramatic Poets,' first published in 1808, a work which opened the eyes of a public to whom the Elizabethan drama meant little more than Shakspeare and Jonson, to the existence of unsuspected mines of poetic jewels. The editor has included Lamb's extracts from old and rare plays preserved in the Garrick collection, and has enriched the handsome volume with notes and an index, both excellent.

'Getting Acquainted with the Trees,' by J. Horace McFarland (The Outlook Co.), gives to lovers of woody plants a good deal of chatty information. The book has been prepared by the author on account of a sincere desire that others, wearied by business cares, should derive from trees the rest and comfort which have come to him through woodland walks. The desultory papers do not lay claim to much scientific or systematic lore, for, if they did, they would fall in that which imparts to them a value to the tired merchant or, as in this case, tired publisher. Trees in books come next to trees in being, in regard to the pleasure they give—provided always that the trees in books are not treated too learnedly or exhaustively.

Photographic processes for the production of engravings, either in black or in colors, have arrived at a great degree of perfection. Grace Greylock Niles, author of 'Bog-trotting for Orchids' (Putnam's), has selected excellent subjects for engravings, and has secured good results. Here and there the outline is too obscure, as in the case of the apple-blossoms and one or two more, and the colors are hardly fair in all instances to the plants they portray. In the interesting sketches of excursions in search of orchids, the author introduces a great deal of trustworthy information relative to other plants in the path. The material has been some time in accumulating, and it has been subjected to pretty careful revision before reaching its final form. One could ask for a more consistent nomenclature in the treatise, but these are wilful days in the matter of plant names, and it is only right that each writer should do as he or she pleases, if good vernacular names are placed by the side of the new Latin ones. The writer has made an exceedingly useful and attractive book, which will lead, or at least ought to lead, many to examine our beautiful wild orchids in their swamp fastnesses. We count it a definite gain to nature study to have a book like this placed within easy reach of summer idlers and of summer students.

In 'The Heather in Lore, Lyric, and Lay' (New York: A. T. De La Mare Co.), Mr. Alexander Wallace has gathered together nearly everything he could lay his hands on

in regard to Scotch heather. The comparative rarity of heather in the United States strikes every Scotchman as a fault of no small magnitude. Why we should have no moors is, indeed, a question hard to answer. At Tewksbury and Townsend, Mass., and at a few other places, a little patch of heather comes to view and holds its own for a while, as if it meant to stay. But there are no "heaths," no wide moors covered with strong and vigorous heather. There are certain plants, notably *Hudsonia*, wonderfully like heather, and these, simulating the heather shape and habit, are our only substitute for the pretty Scotch plant. Of late years, a new chapter has been slowly adding itself to botanical literature, under the name *œcology*. This is defined as the study of all the relations of plants to their surroundings in the widest sense of the term. Climate, soil, competing plants, both kindred and alien, animals of all sorts, favoring and hostile, and, in short, everything which affects the plant, must be examined in this new branch of botany. It is to this new and important division of the subject that all such puzzles as the lack of heather here are referred. And, thus far, the answer has not been satisfactorily given.

In 'A Norwegian Ramble' (Putnam's), one of a party that made an interesting car-riole trip in southwestern Norway, endeavors to suggest to lovers of natural scenery who take their vacations for rest, the many attractions offered by that picturesque region. They crossed the country twice from Christiania, once northwest to Molde, their furthest point north; then in and out of the wonderful firds down the coast, and again southeast through the Valdres to the capital. In the opinion of the author, the traveller may find on such a trip the most interesting and beautiful scenery, and a kindly, hospitable, and honest population, tempered by the worst cigars in the world. The book is a trifle, but is pleasant reading, and contains a few very characteristic illustrations of the scenery from photographs by the author.

The number of really meritorious treatises on political economy is becoming so large as to make it impracticable to review them at length. 'Economic Principles,' by A. W. Flux (London: Methuen & Co.), would formerly have been regarded as a work of enough distinction to deserve extended notice; but we have to speak of it only as one of a class. Its most striking peculiarity is that it makes hardly any reference to the writers on economics. This omission certainly results in a freer treatment and a smoother style, and, for an introductory study, such as this professes to be, the advantages may outweigh the objections. Another commendable feature is the relegation of all mathematical demonstrations of economic principles to the appendix, where they are out of the way of those to whom they might be a stumbling-block. Many of the treatises now published contain such quantities of what can only be called economic gossip and professorial opinion as to make it refreshing to meet with a book of which sound reasoning is the distinctive feature. Nothing is here asserted, we may say, that is not proved, and we know not whether to admire more the lucidity with which the author establishes his premises, or the strictly scientific methods by which he deduces his conclusions. To follow such close reasoning requires a degree of con-

centrated attention which is not to be expected of ordinary students, and the subtitle, "An Introductory Study," need not be taken to mean that this is a book for beginners.

A trustworthy introduction to the general field of Muhammadan law has long been lacking. There were several translations of Arabic treatises, few of which were remarkable for accurate knowledge either of Arabic or of law; there were many detached papers on separate points of origin and development, especially by Snouck Hurgronje and Goldziher. Almost every book on the Muslim civilization touched the subject more or less gingerly and unhappily; but there was no general introduction. Into this gap, as into so many before in its centuries of history, the Leyden school of Arabic has now stepped with Dr. Th. W. Juynboll's *'Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet'* (Leyden: E. J. Brill). The sole defect in this book is its Dutch garb, which will render it impossible or hard of approach for far too many. It itself is a complete introduction. It begins at the beginning, and should be intelligible to the end for any non-Arabist who has interest in law. After an introduction dealing with the Qur'an, the traditions, the schools of law, and the bases (or sources) of the legal system, the different chapters of law are taken up and treated at length. This, of course, is not done with the same detail as by Sachau, in his *'Muhammedanisches Recht'*; but, on the other hand, Sachau deals with those chapters only which may be described as public law, and leaves untouched the more personal and religious sections. Here the whole ground is covered, though not in such minuteness. Last come appendices and excellent indices of names and technical terms. The book may be commended to all students of legal history and usage as opening to them, practically for the first time, one of the great developments in its full width. And it would be hard to improve on the exposition which we have here.

The history of the Town Council of Amsterdam is a curious one. The members were elected for life from a restricted list of reputable and solid citizens. The body became the closest kind of a close corporation, consisting of fathers, sons, brothers and cousins, while relations of the worthy councillors not having a seat in the *Vroedschap* were provided with lucrative positions in the gift of the municipality. Not until the middle of the seventeenth century were laws enacted against this excessive nepotism, nor were they invariably observed. Mr. Johan E. Elias, in *'De Vroedschap von Amsterdam, 1578-1793'* (Haarlem, 1904), gives a good sketch of the Town Council, but his main purpose is genealogical, not historical. He has made an exhaustive examination of all the general and special archives of Amsterdam for the history of all these "patrician" families, as they were called. Both this volume and the others to come will furnish much matter relating to those who emigrated from Amsterdam, as well as those who remained. Mr. Elias is in a position to make the most valuable contribution to the genealogy of New York settlers that has ever been made, and his work deserves to be known here as well as in Holland.

Mr. William E. Foster's twenty-sixth annual report of the Providence Public Li-

brary shows how a library can be administered so as to become a valuable part of the educational plant of a city. The statistics reveal a steady increase in the use of the reference and industrial departments, and in the work in connection with the schools. To numerous deliveries of books to schools and clubs has been added practical instruction to 1,500 children at the library in regard to its resources and their proper use, as well as to the graduating classes of the fifteen grammar schools by Mr. Foster himself. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to read that, while the circulation for 1903 was larger than for any previous year except 1897, the percentage of fiction read was the lowest in the history of the library.

The Calendar of "The Imperial University of Tōkyō" for 1903-4 is, in its copulent proportions, an index of the great development and extension from the days of half a century ago, when "an office for the examination of barbarian books" was opened in Yedo. The edifices of the six colleges of Law, Medicine, Engineering, Literature, Science, and Agriculture are all, except that of the last, placed within the spacious grounds formerly occupied by the feudal lord of Kaga. Since 1897, when it received its present name to distinguish it from the sister institution then founded in Kioto, the history of the University is easy to follow. In the present calendar the chief features, in addition to the elaboration of detail for each college, is the notice of the preparation of a National History to be compiled from authentic records. Under various names, the committee has been more or less occupied for sixteen years. The work was expected to be completed by March 31, 1900, but it has been again prolonged for another period of fifteen years, in order to revise and publish the material already collected. In Part III., in the list of journals, memorials, and bulletins, published since 1887, we find that, of the "Historical Materials of Japan," volumes iv., vi., and xii. are already published. They relate respectively to the Kamakura period, the period of the schism in the imperial line, and the Yedo period. Five volumes of old documents relating to the periods from (A. D.) 702 to 769 are also published. Under the head of "Old Diaries relating to Japanese History," we find that no fewer than thirty-one volumes are apparently at the service of the public, though no details are given as to publication. Of all these, the text remains in the Japanese. The number of papers in English, French, and German on scientific and learned themes runs into the hundreds. The list of graduates since 1878, arranged under classes, is given, showing a grand total of 5,459, of whom 391 are deceased. Of the students on the roll in September, 1903, there were 3,771; the highest number in any college, that of Law, being 1,185, and after that the colleges of Medicine, Engineering, Literature, Agriculture, and Science following in order of preference by students. Besides the thoroughly modern character of the various scientific departments, it is interesting to note the fulness of organization of the departments of Japanese and Chinese history, literature, and philosophy.

—Again Messrs. Dodd, Mead & Co.'s *'New International Encyclopædia'* has made a great leap in publication, and with

the usual results. Volumes XV. to XVII. have appeared, and the account is closed. Haste, says the Arabic proverb, somewhat broadly, is of the devil. This is true, at any rate, of books and printing. Of the present work, as a whole, an opinion has been fully expressed from time to time in these pages. The best that can be said of it now is, that an evident effort has been made to remedy the equally evident initial weakness in the editorial staff. Much might have been done; more should have been done; something has been done. It is to be trusted, however, that the editors and publishers realize that this is simply a beginning. If their object is to furnish the leading encyclopædia in the English language short of the *'Britannica'*, and to justify the title *'International'*, doing for the English-speaking peoples what *'Meyer'* and *'Brockhaus'* do for Germans, they must set before themselves a series of supplemental volumes and then a new edition, recast throughout. For example, the last volume of *'Meyer's'* fifth edition appeared in 1897; then came yearly supplements with exceedingly valuable contents in 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901; now a thoroughly remodeled sixth edition is well on its way. The results are evident in the work itself. Industry and perpetual revision are the price of accuracy and encyclopædic success, and it may well be that, after two or three such transformations, the *'New International'* may really rival *Meyer*. It will surely be hard if the United States cannot supply as good an article as Germany—at double the price. In the meantime the American who can read English only, must be content with the measure of success here attained. It will be prudent in him, however, to read cautiously, to distinguish the varying value of the several articles, and to verify whenever possible. Unhappily, he will be sorely hindered in this by the many articles left without citation of authorities. But these it will be his highest prudence absolutely to neglect.

—All universities foster talent and are stepmothers to genius; rightly enough, since their mission is to be careless of the single life and cherish the type. In the first half of the last century the English universities were sunk in a lethargy from which the authorities roused themselves only when it seemed desirable to suppress an original mind. Tennyson lived to see the Cambridge of 1830, which he denounced

"because your manner sorts  
Not with this age wherefrom ye stand apart,"  
transformed, about two generations later, by a more sympathetic race of dons, with whom the undergraduates could actually exchange ideas. Twenty years before Tennyson and FitzGerald, despairing of the Cambridge professors, set out to educate themselves, Shelley and his friend Hogg were suffering a similar disillusion at Oxford. The latter's account of their undergraduate experiences has been quoted over and over in the biographical notices of Shelley; but Mr. R. A. Streatfeild's charming reprint of *'Shelley at Oxford'*, by Thomas Jefferson Hogg (London: Methuen & Co.), is certainly the first convenient edition for those of the present generation who are interested in this vivid picture of Shelley's youth. Of Oxford in 1810 Hogg naively remarks that "although no great facilities were afforded to the student, there were the same opportunities of solitary study as

in other places." For the two terms, or about six months, which were the limit of Shelley's undergraduate career, Hogg was his inseparable companion, and they were expelled together. His admiration for Shelley's gifts and the charm of his personality led him to record every detail of their studies, their country walks, and their amusements, which were rare, for they were both ascetics with the asceticism of youth, which consists mainly of indifference to regular meals and preference for eccentric hours of study.

—Opposition is the life of such characters as those of Shelley and his Boswell, but they felt keenly the disgrace of their expulsion. Shelley "sat on the sofa, repeating with convulsive vehemence the words 'Expelled, expelled,' his head shaking with emotion, and his whole frame quivering." The plea for "Universal Atheism," the cause of this expulsion, was anonymous and was never offered for sale. It was a foolish schoolboy performance, and should have been treated as such. Hogg became a prosperous Government official, and to him Oxford made no reparation. To the memory of Shelley, some three generations later, University College erected, close to his old rooms, an unsightly, overdecorated cupola, under which lies Onslow Ford's pathetic marble figure of the drowned poet. That is Oxford's *peccavi* or palinode—well meant, no doubt, but excruciating to the eye. To Shelley himself, so cruelly cut adrift in his teens, it would have seemed appropriate enough that that symbolic image of defeat should be the chief treasure of his college. But Oxford's repentance is sincere; Shelley's watch and seals are religiously preserved in the Bodleian; his poems are even set in the degree examinations, which last concession (the most thorough-going that Oxford could make) might have disarmed the bitterness of this most loyal of the poet's friends, could he have lived to know of it.

—Compilations like Ralph Lefevre's 'History of New Paltz, New York, and Its Old Families, 1678-1820,' appeal to the local residents and descendants of the early settlers rather than to the general reader. New Paltz is to-day an Ulster County village of about one thousand inhabitants, the township of the same name having only about 2,200. It does not, therefore, occupy a large part in the history of the State. But a certain distinction is claimed for it because it was one of the few places in this country settled by Huguenots, because the patentees there purchased their land from the Indians before William Penn made a similar purchase in Pennsylvania, and because "the homesteads have been handed down in the family ever since the first settlement." The Huguenot settlers went from France to the German Palatinate, whence they removed to this State from 1660 to 1675; hence the name of the Ulster County town. Mr. Lefevre has brought together in accessible shape the old records which throw light on the early ownership of land and the first steps towards a government. They describe the superseding of log cabins by houses of stone; the displacement of the French language by the Dutch, and of the latter by the English; the change from a simple regulation of public affairs by the heads of the families to Government by the "Dusiné" (Twelve) chosen annually, who

had supervision of land titles—the body of voters deciding for themselves a large part of the public questions coming up, from the election of "chimmily viewers" to the purchase of a pall and a silver cup for the church; and the division of the land, originally cultivated in common. The history of the churches is given in detail, and family records are spread over many pages. A good deal of this material, together with stories of contests with the Indians, accounts of early amusements, and the experiences of hunters in pursuit of game (which then included deer and wild turkeys) and such animals as bears, wolves, and panthers, could be made of general interest in skilful hands; but Mr. Lefevre is a compiler rather than a maker of literature, as his "picture of a farm scene" on page 193 illustrates, and he not only fails to tell an interesting story, but throws his topics together in such haphazard fashion that one must hunt from page to page to complete an examination of any one of them. The descendants of the first settlers will find much to interest them in the book, and the very complete index of names will assist them in discovering what they want to know.

—'Law in Daily Life' is the title of a little handbook translated from the German of Rud. von Ihering, with notes and additions by Henry Goudy, Professor of Civil Law at Oxford (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde). It is a collection of legal questions (the answers not being given) connected with the ordinary events of everyday life. The original plan of the book, which has passed through eight editions in Germany, may be seen at a glance. The table of contents—" (1) Railway Travelling; (2) At an Inn; (3) In Hired Apartments; (4) Household Affairs; (5) At a Tailor's," etc., etc.—resembles that of a conversation-book for beginners in a foreign language. The author's idea is to bring before the mind of the student the many legal relations and questions arising out of them suggested by the ordinary events of every day; e. g. (at a tailor's). It is a question what kind of a contract is made with a tailor when the customer supplies the cloth. Again, if there is no agreement beforehand, "can the tailor charge as high as he pleases? Can he retain the coat till payment is made?" Such questions, the author thinks, owing to their involving small amounts of money, rarely lead to an action; but, however this may be in Germany and in other countries which derive their law from Rome, we should say that in England and this country there was no question involving a matter however trifling which might not arise in court. However, a collection of questions presents to the mind of the student a vast array of legal problems, involving the most important principles in the practical form in which they suggest themselves in real life. The translator has added some questions in English law, which show that the method might be readily used for teaching common law. In fact, it is the "quiz" method systematized and perfected by a legal genius.

—Professor Burnet of the University of St. Andrews is the highest living authority among English scholars on the philosophy of Aristotle, an author curiously neglected by American universities. He has recently published in the "Cambridge Series" a volume of 140 pages entitled 'Aristotle on

Education' (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan), in which he presents a translation of the Aristotelian views of education as they have come down to us in the 'Politics.' Unfortunately, while we have complete Plato's treatment of education in the 'Republic,' Aristotle's discussion is a fragment. In fact, he does not arrive at the education of the mind at all, though he plainly meant to deal with it after the discussion of the education of the body, on which we probably have all that he had to say, and the education of character on which he left much unsaid. Gymnastics for the body, music for the character—so far, then, Aristotle takes us; for the mind, whose training should crown the whole, not a single word. To Aristotle, as to Plato, it would have seemed impossible to treat of education apart from politics; the citizen came first. But he looked no less to the individual man, and for him the ideal education was that which should fit a man to enjoy his leisure; the noble use of leisure being the highest aim of education. For Aristotle thought, and most people will agree with him, that what a man does with his spare time is the true test of his character and training. It remains uncertain what scientific studies Aristotle would have recommended, or did recommend. It is, however, an interesting fact that the development of mathematics which dates immediately after Aristotle, was carried out by men who were connected with the school of Plato; the Aristotelians did not contribute a single great mathematician. Aristotle himself cared more for biology and history, while Plato, the visionary, made mathematics the copingstone of the studies that were to fit the noblest men in his Utopia to govern the rest. Professor Burnet's translation is based on his view, doubtless correct, that the 'Politics' and the 'Ethics' were merely lecture notes, and so not to be judged from the point of view of style as we judge a dialogue of Plato. He has happily caught the lecturer's tone, and managed to be literal without being dry. It is a real triumph to have made Aristotle conversational; you see him leaning over the desk to illustrate his point with the epigram (now a commonplace) that one swallow does not make a summer, or to remark with dry humor that people don't deliberate about everything—for instance, a Spartan would never deliberate about something that had not to do with Sparta. To the scanty pages of the 'Politics' on education the translator has prefixed a hundred pages from the 'Ethics,' so that the reader may first realize Aristotle's theory of human happiness before he proceeds to consider how education may be made to secure it. The running commentary and the introduction are admirable.

#### GEN. GORDON'S REMINISCENCES.

*Reminiscences of the Civil War.* By Gen. John B. Gordon of the Confederate Army. With portraits. Scribners. 1903.

The lamented death of Gen. Gordon gives peculiar interest to these Reminiscences, as in the most serious sense his last word concerning great events. He was from first to last more than merely an observer. He was an actor constantly growing in responsibility and aggressive vigor, in audacity tempered by intelligent judgment, so that

finally Gen. Lee left to his discretion the time and place when and where, if at all, the Army of Northern Virginia should cease to exist. He was a furious fighter, who tells his tale with the modesty of bravery; a wise counsellor, who lays no claim to omniscience. But, from the day of his inspired ignorance when, with no military training, but flaming with patriotism toward a Provisional Government of six States, he led to Montgomery a company of mountaineers, to the closing campaign, in which Lee leaned upon him, a lieutenant-general and a trusted corps commander, there does not appear to have been a moment of hesitation, whatever the peril or how serious the demand, when he believed Confederate duty called. His subsequent career was one of the most notable results of the war fought over the doctrine of secession. An active belligerent from first to last, he frankly recognized that the sword to which the South appealed had decided for the Union. He manfully accepted the decision, and devoted an eloquent life to "strengthen the sentiment of intersectional fraternity which is essential to complete national unity." In Gen. Gordon's civil career the defensive nation, aroused by Sumter, stung at Bull Run, and fighting desperately for four years for existence, realized a peculiar triumph. That career was devoted to inspiring his comrades and their sons with love and respect for the country whose corporate destruction had been sought. It was to regain and retain her revolted citizens that there had been war.

As history, there are three salient points among the multitude of incidents with which this volume bristles. The first is the well-known fact that Ewell halted on the first day at Gettysburg, when, as Gordon believed, in half an hour he might have occupied Cemetery Hill. The other two claims are practically new, in the sense of being generally unfamiliar. One is that Ewell, influenced by Early, disregarded Gordon's advice to fall on the exposed Federal right flank in the Wilderness; the other, that Early, again from inappreciation of the situation, checked the advance at Cedar Creek when nothing but his word stood between the Sixth Corps and annihilation. In connection with Gettysburg, the familiar accusation against Longstreet of dilatoriness on the last two days also is reiterated. The weight of available evidence seems to sustain Gordon's categorical charge (p. 160) that Longstreet failed in the element of time to respond to Lee's command. But final decision should be reserved until the publication of Longstreet's posthumous defence, understood to be in the press, under his widow's name. The great and merited devotion of every Confederate to Lee makes it easier for them to believe that a subordinate must have been at fault.

The possibility of carrying Cemetery Hill at the time Gordon was halted beyond its base, must ever remain a matter of opinion. The propriety of Ewell's order to halt is a distinct question. When the First and that part of the Eleventh Corps (Federal) which had been engaged were forced back by superior and constantly increasing numbers, they concentrated on that hill which was already held as a rallying-point by an unengaged division and two batteries. These troops had been carefully posted behind stone walls and were covered by skirmishers. As the retiring troops reached the hill

they took station on each flank of the waiting command, "and soon a formidable array of artillery was ready to cover with its fire all the approaches." Hancock, a tower of strength, was also present, and fresh troops were arriving. Howard and Hancock had already agreed that Cemetery Hill was an essential part of the prospective battle-ground. It seems probable, but probabilities in war are not final, that Ewell could not have carried Cemetery Hill on the afternoon of the 1st of July. The Union First Corps had been roughly handled and forced back, but the Confederates had been roughly handled also. Gen. Hunt of the Union army, a most competent judge, although not upon that field until after midnight, asserts that "an assault by the Confederates was not practicable before 5:30 P. M., and after that the position was perfectly secure." Early in the day Ewell had properly been restrained by Lee's order, given at a distance, not to bring on a general engagement until his army was concentrated. This was repeated by Lee from Seminary Ridge as a proviso in the order, sent through a highly qualified staff officer, to carry the hill if practicable. This competent officer, Col. Long, and Ewell together "found the position a formidable one and not accessible to artillery fire." Wisely they suspended operations, perhaps remembering Malvern Hill, although Gen. Gordon looks on the decision as an example of what Washington calls "untimely discretion." It would appear that Gordon's martial impulse overrides his military judgment in this expression of regret; and Lee's later longing for Jackson, Ewell's predecessor, as an insurer of victory, might well refer to some other phase of the three days' battle.

After a fierce collision on the 5th of May, the first day's fighting in the Wilderness campaign of 1864, Gordon's brigade was transferred in the night to the extreme left of Lee's lines, which, it was thought, Grant overlapped. To Gordon's surprise and delight, his scouts reported at dawn that in fact the Confederates extended far beyond the Union flank, which really was in the air and wholly unguarded, as well as without support. He verified this by a personal reconnaissance and independent examinations by others, covering several miles, and then begged that his own brigade and the next be allowed to roll up the Federal line, for no exposed and unready troops could withstand a sudden flank assault. However, Early, Gordon's immediate superior, possessed with the belief that Burnside, who actually was well to the Union left, was supporting the extreme right, disapproved, and Ewell, Early's superior, would not overrule him. But when Lee visited that front at 5:30 P. M., he immediately authorized the venture, for the double purpose of inflicting direct damage and of relieving the troublesome tension on his own right. The attack began as the sun went down, and, notwithstanding it was soon cut short by the darkness, it resulted in the capture of two generals and many men, in numerous Federal casualties, and in serious dislocation of that part of the Union line at comparatively little expense to the Confederates, and that chiefly from their own cross-fire. Both lines were readjusted in the night. The Union military writers have naturally made light of this diversion, because it did not derange Grant's plan as a whole; and even Early, possibly because,

saturated with the fear of Burnside's proximity, he had so entirely disapproved of the attempt, in his Memoir minimizes its importance, and congratulates himself that the Confederates got out of the natural confusion as well as they did. But that attack held the germ of a great disaster to the Union arms.

Gordon grew to be more nearly Jackson's natural successor than any subordinate Confederate general, although it does not appear that he was recognized as such until late in the war, if even then, by those whom he gradually overshadowed. He lacked Jackson's technical training, and certainly was not so harsh a disciplinarian; but his genius for leadership and his matchless courage developed an aggressive enthusiasm in the ranks, where Jackson's austere command simply yielded confidence. Gordon had all of Hood's dash that was valuable, with vastly more discretion, and united to the pertinacity of Longstreet and the gallantry of Pickett a wealth of practical resource that placed him on a very high military plane. He was born with military genius, as was Forrest; but it required the experience of the field to develop it into a highly efficient working power. If any Confederate could have delayed preordained disaster, it might have been Gordon holding a high command under Lee earlier than he actually attained it. He had much of Jackson's unswerving faith in an overruling Providence, and it was that faith alone which finally reconciled him to Jackson's loss when he reflected on "His control of the destinies of this republic." For from the human point of view the inner light revealed to him that in the Wilderness a Jackson would have rolled up the Union right on the 6th of May, with which we must agree; and also, with a confidence we do not share, he believed that at Gettysburg Ewell's corps plus Jackson would have forced the Federal troops from that field in irremediable flight on the first of July.

The other important allegation is that Gen. Early at the crucial moment halted the conquering Confederates at Cedar Creek, thus throwing away victory and preparing for their own rout later in the day. Gordon, now a major-general, led three divisions in the night over the presumably impracticable Massanutten Mountain, and at dawn surprised and put to flight all the Union infantry except the Sixth Corps. As he was about to concentrate his artillery, thirty pieces, more or less, upon those steady troops, Gen. Early, as alleged, came upon the scene and announced that there was glory enough for one day; and when Gordon urged the destruction of the remaining Federals by artillery fire, he replied that it was useless, for "they will all go directly." They did go back, but in an orderly, soldierly manner, unshaken and undismayed. In the afternoon the tide that had ebbed in the morning came flooding in, bearing with it Union victory. Gen. Gordon believes that the Sixth Corps was at his mercy at Cedar Creek, as it had been in the Wilderness, and that for the second time Gen. Early was the evil genius of the Confederacy. He charges neither disloyalty nor pusillanimity. He does imply inefficient generalship, an inadequate grasp at a critical time. But he is particularly aggrieved by Gen. Early's charge that plundering made advance impossible. Early's report of the battle (*Official Records*, 90, p. 562) asserts: "Word

was sent to Gordon . . . and Kershaw . . . to . . . advance with their divisions, but they stated in reply . . . and that their ranks were so depleted by the number of men who had stopped in the camps to plunder that they could not advance them." He adds (p. 563): "We had within our grasp a glorious victory, and lost it by the uncontrollable propensity of our men for plunder, in the first place, etc." "I had endeavored to guard against the dangers of stopping to plunder in the camps by cautioning the division commanders, . . . and I endeavored to arrest the evil while in progress, without avail." Such reports flew far and wide, and this official explanation of the untimely rest has made an indelible impression, so that the Confederates at Cedar Creek have become a historical example of the sacrifice of victory by indiscipline. But Gen. Gordon denies with emphasis that he and Gen. Kershaw received any order to advance, or that they ever replied that they could not. "Our troops were not absent. They were there in line, eager to advance." "We were not only urgently anxious to advance; but were astounded at any halt whatever" (p. 365). He also presents many competent and credible witnesses to disprove the charge against the men in the ranks as straggling plunderers. That the captured camps were plundered is true—the truth seeming to be that the despoiling was by crowds of unarmed convalescents who had rejoined the army while still unfit. Spreading over the field in search of booty after the organized troops had passed in pursuit, they deceived Gen. Early, and he misled the public. It is Gen. Gordon's bitter regret that his own report appears never to have reached Gen. Lee. Tenaciously as Gen. Early held opinions once formulated, nevertheless several days after the battle he said to Capt. Hotchkiss of his staff, about to report in person to Gen. Lee, that they should have advanced in the morning, although he cautioned him not to tell the general that (Official Records, 90, p. 582). This indicates a private conviction and personal retraction, notwithstanding persistent failure to make it publicly. From 10 A. M. to 4 P. M. the Confederates rested on their arms, making even no organized effort to carry off their captures, and Gordon might well feel dejected to see the ultimate consequences of his superb initiative lost through sheer passivity.

The result of an unfought engagement is problematical. The audacious and wholly unlooked-for assault at the break of day, on a flank that seemed perfectly protected by nature, drove off in confusion two large Federal commands. Had the temporary but vast preponderance of Confederate artillery opened against the Sixth Corps on a field so favorable to such fire, much damage must have been inflicted. But that corps, in excellent discipline and admirably commanded, could not have remained unresisting; and there was also an intact cavalry division to be reckoned with, against which it is unlikely Rosser could have made much head. Doubtless for tactical considerations the Union troops would have retired, but it by no means follows that they would have been defeated, nor that Wright, with such brigades as stood fast or rallied, would not have carried into effect, as he planned, the forward movement that Sheridan executed.

A single other comment on the clash of arms: Early's advance against Washington

in July, 1864, was rendered fruitless by Wallace's tenacious and self-sacrificing resistance on the line of the Monocacy. Gordon recognizes the quality of that defence, but does not seem to appreciate that the delay thus caused, where no more than delay could be hoped for, made it possible for the Sixth Corps to march directly from the Potomac transports out the Seventh Street road, as Early's skirmishers deployed before Fort Stevens. Except for Wallace at the Monocacy, the Confederates might have had the moral advantage of a temporary occupation of the capital.

Besides the alarms of war, the Reminiscences illustrate in many ways the men and times of the Confederacy. The first chapter holds as clear and temperate a statement of the difference that led to armed collision as we may ever expect from one actively engaged. But nowhere is there repining at the result. The doctrine of predestination appears to have done its perfect work, so that, vigorous human resistance having proved unavailing, the issue is accepted as providential. Gen. Gordon is disposed to paint the internal discipline of the Confederate camps in brighter colors than we may accept, and there is none but jocose reference to the unrelenting conscription that drew into those camps practically the entire fighting population of the white South. It was the war of an oligarchy, and those who in uninstructed enthusiasm volunteered at the beginning, were retained by the same strong arm that forcibly added recruits to their gaping lines. As they reached the virile age, high-spirited youths continued to volunteer, but the rank and file that bore the heat and burden of the day, the men with domestic responsibilities, not concerned with abstractions of State rights and problems of the tariff, to say nothing of having no vital interest in the "peculiar institution," had Confederate pressure, not State loyalty, to draw them from their homes. Exemptions and discharges alike were few. There were no time-expired regiments, no reenlisting veterans. Certainly the leaders who put their hands to the military plough did not look back until stopped by exhaustion, nor did they allow the working force to halt. Once armed, the contagious sympathy of numbers and the hereditary instinct developed by the conditions of the field made one and all, conscripts and volunteers alike, superb fighters. The Confederate yell (the adjective used to be shorter) expressed the *gaudium certaminis*. It could be raised only by men who found joy in battle. Nevertheless, Confederate discipline was bad, even in 1862, when it should have been at its best, Gen. Lee himself being witness (Official Records, 27, p. 143; 28, pp. 617, 618, 643). As not unusual in time of war, religious ardor ran high in the Southern camps, and there are frequent references to prayer meetings at which officers and men were common suppliants for divine grace and material help, praying (as one expressed it) that the Lord "would take a proper view of the subject" and give them victory. Certainly if martial audacity and brilliant courage bore the same relation to Providence that the largest battalions have been said to sustain, those persistent fighters might feel sure of such support. The most dramatic situation of the whole book is Lee's midnight consultation with Gordon, out of which followed that extraordinary,

although short-lived, triumph of deliberate daring, the capture of Fort Stedman by night assault—to our mind the most remarkable exploit of the war. That Gordon should plan and Lee permit such an assault, shows that in campaigns all things are possible to him who ventures.

It nowhere appears in this narrative how or when Gen. Gordon received his various promotions higher than that of Major Sixth Alabama; there is no record of the accessory honors that must have been his, and there is merely the most necessary mention of his disabling wounds and of his personal activity in the field. It is a modest tale, filled with vitality. Under Gordon's implied doctrine of predestination, the war had to come. Having come, we place George H. Thomas before Robert E. Lee. Having come, we thank Providence that Gordon so closely rivalled Lee in those qualities which, outside of the larger view at a critical time, made him a great American. In peace both men have deserved well of the country, and Gordon's later life and oratorical power carried his personal influence to a younger generation as well as to his own. When death removed him, a great and good American was taken away.

The clerical error of Kinsey for Kinzle (p. 32) should be eliminated.

*Fleures, Canaux, Chemins de fer.* By Paul Léon. With an Introduction by Pierre Baudin, former Minister of Public Works, Paris: Armand Colin. 1903.

Towards an epoch-making mechanical invention the public commonly manifests a curious alternation of unreasonable distrust and unreasonable credulity. The new device at its advent encounters the contemptuous and often noisy disapproval of the few whose interests the newcomer jeopardizes. To this chorus there succeeds the equally uncritical applause of the many when once the success of the new machine or process is concretely demonstrated. By this time the spirit of speculative prophecy has been unloosed which can discern no limits whatever to the conquests which the new apparatus both mechanically and commercially is destined to attain. Long afterwards these too early and too optimistic forecasts are corrected soberly, and the new invention is set in due relation to the rest of the world's working equipment.

This was essentially the case with steam railroads. Henry Fairbairn, in his 'Political Economy of Railroads,' which was published in 1836, less than a decade after their introduction, spoke of canals as "the rude invention of a former age." In France the continuance of freight carriage by canals seemed in 1844 extremely doubtful. And yet, despite the marvellous way in which the railroad has transformed the economic life of the modern world, it is a fact not only that canals have not been discarded, but that the improvement and extension of inland waterways is more prominently than ever the avowed public policy of Germany, France, and Austria. It is to the tracing of this policy in France that M. Léon's volume is chiefly devoted, though he also essays to assess the rôle that inland navigation in general may reasonably be expected to play in the general drama of transportation.

How rapidly France was reticulated with railroads may be inferred from a lively

comparison which M. Léon presents. In 1846, when the French harvests were a failure, it was found physically impossible to transport Russian wheat into certain of the departments of France which were threatened with famine. Thus, while Provence teemed with provender, Indre was affrighted with hungry mobs and sanguinary bread riots. In 1854, only eight years later, when a similar crop failure occurred in France, the fear of famine had been wholly exorcised, thanks to the completion of the railway net.

The reversion to the earlier and all but discarded policy of improving inland waterways is traceable in France to the popular alarm felt after 1860 at the rapacity of the railroad companies when they had, each in its own territory, acquired a virtual monopoly of traffic. The indictments brought by M. Léon against the companies read like a version of our own Granger movement. Discrimination, extortion, special rates, and rebates (*tarifs d'abonnement, tarifs de saison*), and the exaltation of the railroad company to the post of arbiter of the industrial success or failure of the individual plant or manufacturer, all seemed intolerable. To temper or to break this monopoly recourse was had to inland water transportation. M. Krantz began with a thoroughgoing *enquête* in 1872. In 1879 M. de Freycinet undertook on a large scale the work of creating a modernized system of internal navigation. In 1880 all tolls on French waterways were abolished. Within fifteen years the tonnage thereon had doubled, although for forty years previous it had been at a standstill. During the first period—1880 to 1895—the tonnage by rail increased by 30 per cent. The De Freycinet scheme, unfortunately, was soon overlaid with a sorry lot of political jobs. Every part of France, no matter how ill-suited to serve as an avenue of national commerce, demanded its share of the lavish appropriations which had been foisted upon the budget. It was the old story of a universalized local grab which has so often characterized our River and Harbor bills. In 1879, for example, fifty-two millions of francs were expended for these purposes; in 1880, one hundred and three millions; in 1883, one hundred and forty-six millions. Then came the inevitable retreat, involving the abandonment of public works estimated to cost nine hundred and seventy-three millions, and the heavy attendant losses due to unfinished work, lapsing contracts, and the like. While France had been wasting her resources in thus spreading thin her expenditures over fifty or sixty seaports and over canals in all parts of her domain, England had concentrated her expenditure on a few great seaports; and Germany, besides beginning the canalization of the Rhine, had built up by lavish expenditure, chiefly on Hamburg and Bremen, the two greatest maritime ports of the Continent.

So lasting were the popular memories of the wasteful De Freycinet programme that in 1891 M. Pierre Baudin, at that time minister of public works, was unable to secure the definitive approval of the French Senate to his conservative scheme of public improvements. Though adopted by the Chamber of Deputies, it was practically postponed by the non-concurrence of the upper chamber in many essential details. It is still, therefore, at the bar of legislative approval. The scheme of M. Baudin

involves an expenditure of 163,080,000 francs on ten of the most important seaports, the improvement of seven existing internal waterways at an estimated cost of 60,630,000 francs, and the creation or improvement of nine additional waterways at an estimated cost of 479,640,000 francs. On its financial side the project is guarded by incorporating the principle of riparian participation to the extent of one-half of the cost of all the new works projected. This general principle—"Aide-toi, l'État t'aidera"—has been adopted in Germany and Austria, and might well prove the effectual means of restraining our annual expenditures on rivers and harbors. The detailed discussion of the plan into which M. Léon enters in chapters 4 and 5, presupposes somewhat intimate acquaintance with the topography and commercial geography of France. For this reason it is less apt to attract the general reader than the author's very interesting description of the German canalization of the Rhine, or his discussion of the respective shares in the future work of inland transportation that may be properly allotted to rail and water, respectively.

A significant fact connected with the improvement of the Rhine for navigation is that while its traffic in certain instances increased four-fold between 1880 and 1898, the tonnage of the Westphalian railroads, in some ways competitors for the Rhine's traffic, simultaneously increased almost a hundred per cent. In part this augmentation of the railroad tonnage was due to the avowed policy of the roads to divert traffic by special rates away from Rotterdam to Hamburg and Bremen. Those who cherish the idea that State railroads are certain to do away with iniquitous discrimination may read with profit the detailed account of the flagrant and unblushing discrimination practised by the Prussian railroads even against their own countrymen interested as shippers or carriers in the navigation of the Rhine. The railway bureaucrat, no less than the railway autocrat, can seemingly unite in the apothegm commonly attributed to the elder Vanderbilt: "*Multæ terricolis linguæ, cœlestibus una.*"

M. Léon arrives at the seemingly reasonable conclusion that instead of the railway and the canal or navigable river being regarded as competitors battling à outrance for exclusive possession of freight traffic, they may reasonably be regarded from the standpoint of the public interest as coadjutors. The rôle assigned to the canal must be a relatively subordinate one, of course. Fast freight, for example, is an exclusive possession of the railroad. But the true explanation of the persistence of waterborne traffic is the relative insignificance of its cost as compared with the corresponding items of cost by rail. The resistance to traction by water is estimated variously at from one-third to one-fifth of the resistance by rail. The cost of canal construction per mile is estimated by the author at about two-thirds of the cost of the average railway roadbed; and operation and maintenance per mile at a ratio of 17 to 62.5 in favor of the canal. Barges, he estimates, are about eight times cheaper than freight cars of equal capacity. It is not surprising, therefore, that French freight rates by inland waterways are about one-fourth of the rates paid by rail-borne freight. If, as the author argues, elec-

tricity is destined eventually to be used for canal traction, the cost of administration and operation will apparently be augmented. Whether the increased volume of traffic and the improved organization of its transmission will offset the increased expense, is a question for the experts. However, if one may presume to judge by human experience dating from the Pharaohs and extending to this year of grace, it is safe to hazard the opinion that inland waterways will retain indefinitely a permanent and an important, though an indisputably subordinate, place among the transportation agencies of the future.

*Personal Reminiscences of the Duke of Wellington.* By Francis, the first Earl of Ellesmere. Edited, with a memoir of Lord Ellesmere, by his daughter Alice, Countess of Strafford. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903.

It is well known that the great Duke of Wellington was not a man of many intimate friends, so that it is not strange that, of all the books which have been written about him, hardly any should have proceeded from those who personally knew him well. But during the last twenty-five years of the Duke's life, Francis Gower, son of the Marquis of Strafford, and created Earl of Ellesmere in 1846, was in constant social intimacy with him at Apsley House, Strathfieldsaye, and Walmer, as well as at the country houses where they both were guests. The Earl began to write on the day after the Duke's death, and this volume is compiled from a sort of diary or book of reminiscences in which he made memoranda about the Duke from time to time. In it, therefore, we have no mere detailing of general anecdote and gossip, but recollections by one whom Wellington seems really to have loved, and whom he certainly trusted to a remarkable degree. Herein lies the peculiar interest of the volume, and not in much that is specially new; for most of the important matters and many of the anecdotes in it have already become known to us from sources not first-hand, as this source is.

Thus, on the Duke's portraits, by which alone we can now know his personal appearance, it is interesting to have the verdict of one who was with him so much:

"The best sculpture of and concerning him is Steele's statue at Edinburgh, and the bas-reliefs on Marochetti's pedestal at Glasgow. The best portraits, Arbuthnot's half-length by Lawrence, and Sir Robert Peel's whole-length, standing with the telescope, also by Lawrence; one of the worst, Lord Bathurst's equestrian full-length, which is a libel on poor Copenhagen, who was not made of wood."

And this also is an interesting bit: "He was no neglecter of his own person, and his ablutions were not of the partial and scanty old school. He not only looked clean, but was so. I do not remember that in his society I ever heard from any one, still less from him, anything which might not have been repeated before ladies." Of that fear of approaching the Duke with remonstrance, under which so many of his contemporaries labored, the Earl seems to have had little or none: "I have combated his views and maintained my own with him over and over again, and never could detect in him the slightest trace of obstinacy of conviction or impatience of dia-

cussion." But here he is speaking of civil matters, and adds: "In any professional matter he was adamant, and neither Arbuthnot, nor I through Arbuthnot, could have made the slightest impression on him."

The Duke's contentedness of spirit once more finds good illustration here: "He had the propensity of cheerful minds to be satisfied with his own possessions and acquisitions. He thought Strathfieldsaye perfect as a residence, and he thought Walmer, as he thought most places where his lot was cast, charming." Ellesmere, on the other hand, speaks of Strathfieldsaye as a swampy flat, and of the house as a miserable specimen of a French château.

The Duke was a great reader of works on military matters, from Cæsar's Commentaries down to his own time, yet he "made it a rule never to read any work whatever bearing on his own military career. He said that they would merely tempt and provoke him to comments which he could not make without offence to living men." In two cases only does he seem to have departed from this rule: first, in order to supply Ellesmere with a memorandum for his article in the *Quarterly*, in 1845, on Alison, Marmont, and Siborne; secondly, when he wrote his famous memorandum in reply to Clausewitz's 'History of the Campaign.' Both memoranda are here given in an appendix; the latter, used by Ellesmere for his *Quarterly* article of 1842, has already been published in the 'Supplementary Dispatches'; the former we do not remember to have seen before. It leaves little of "Alison's nonsense"—"that pompous compiler from Gazettes, who to this hour thinks that the Duke owes half his fame to his writings"—whereas the Duke had got a mistaken notion that this Conservative sheriff "was a Whig, hired by that party to defame and depreciate him. I had much difficulty in convincing him of the real state of the case, namely, that Mr. Alison sincerely admired the Duke, but only admired himself a good deal more." The Earl adds, in speaking of the critics of his article, into which he had incorporated much of the Duke's memorandum: "The blockheads thought that they were commenting on me, or some one of as little weight and authority, little knowing whose language they were criticising and whose statements of fact they were disputing." Of course, it has now long been known under whose inspiration Ellesmere wrote.

Here is a piece of literary criticism by the Duke on a book of quite a different sort. He "used to say that 'Gil Blas' never could have been written, as some maintain it was, by a Spaniard, because it constantly describes dinners, which are unknown in Spain. The only dinner given him by an individual in Spain was by the Duchess d'Ossuna [this is incorrect; he dined once with Madame Sta. Cruz, and once with the King], and that, he said, was exactly like Bodas di Camacho in 'Don Quixote,' whole sheep, etc."

Of the Duke's own literary productions, the Dispatches, the most valuable and comprehensive material ever left by a modern to the history of his times, Lord Brougham said to Gurwood, "You have published a book which will live when we are in the dust and forgotten." This was reported to the Duke, who, with all that simplicity of mind and lack of self-consciousness which

so distinguished him and so often confounded his opponents, merely remarked, "Very true; so it will."

Prefixed to the Reminiscences there is a brief memoir of Ellesmere by his daughter. There was nothing especially remarkable about him: he was a lover of literature and a patron of the fine arts, a good sportsman, an extensive traveller; indeed, the best of this part of the book is an account, given in letters, of a journey to Madrid and a sojourn there in 1823—a good picture of what now seems to us the almost incredible discomforts which even men of rank had to undergo in travelling in Southern Europe so lately as that time. Some public offices he held in his younger days; but after he fell heir to the great wealth of his uncle, the Duke of Bridgewater, he devoted himself chiefly to the amelioration of the people committed to his care, and his best memorials are the churches, schools, and institutions which he built or endowed. A good likeness of him is given in this book, which is excellently printed in Edinburgh, but is destitute of an index.

*Japan To-day.* By J. A. B. Scherer. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.

The new president of Newberry College, South Carolina, spent four years as instructor in the schools of southern Japan, and made himself familiar with the language, human nature, and especially with the home life of the people. It is one of the great and compensating advantages of residence away from the large cities that one can see the primal springs of the nation's greatness, while realizing more keenly defects and shams. It is certain that in Japan there is an abyss of difference between the governing few and the millions governed.

Man and nature, rather than things of artifice and arrangement, are agreeable to the temperament of the author. In making comparisons, too, he is very happy, and also judicially fair. One antithesis which he develops and handsomely illustrates, is that the Chinese are ethical and the Japanese æsthetic. The burden of Chinese literature, as visible in its three thousand years of production, is that of order, propriety, duty; that of Japan's, during its twelve hundred years' expression, is concerned with things of charm and beauty, of art and decoration. The flower of the older civilization is filial piety; that of the younger, beauty. Though facially alike, the Chinese and Japanese are radically distinct. The former seem densely stupid, and the latter alert and quickly perceptive. Yet, while the Chinese have been great originators, the Japanese are but clever imitators, with a possible exception in the field of fine arts. "If they have ever created anything outright, it has not been shown." The Japanese is shrewd, the Chinaman is deep. The keynote of one character is sentimentalism; that of the other is conservatism.

The opening chapter, entitled "The Cynosure," has evidently been written rapidly and to suit the goddess of the mick of time. Besides military statistics, it gives on confronting pages the naval strength of Russia and Japan in January, 1904. The other chapters, on "Sunrise Land," "Views Awheel," "Glimpses of Home Life," "The Awful Japanese Language," "Sermons Gar-

nished with Smiles," "Life in the South," "The People of the North," etc., go more deeply into things perdurable. The text is reinforced by illustrations, two in colors and the others handsomely reproduced from photographs by an effective process. There is no index, which the book deserves, for here we have not a flat poster, but a true picture, with color, foreground, perspective, and satisfactory grouping. The text throws light on the treatment of the insane, the old way of looking at female humanity, the prevalence of belief in fox possession, the priestly methods of exorcism, and the delightful vanity of the young sprigs of new Japan. One of these, on seeing in the picture of an American city telegraph poles and wires, expressed his surprise that such inventions had already reached America!

The author quotes considerably from other writers in treating of Buddhist sermons and in telling about the Ainu of Yezo; but in talking about the language, and in describing Japanese traits, he is original and informing, speaking out of experience. He attributes to the Japanese the practical negation of morality, as we understand the word. He makes very clear, what so few Westerners can understand, the vast difference between the travelled ministers of the Emperor and the trained naval and army officers, and the untouched multitudes. He frankly acknowledges that, in talking about the ethics of the Japanese, we deal with psychology rather than morals, though the two fields touch at vital points. The common native has no conception of the value of time. "No foreigner that has lived in Japan can ever forget the terrible word, 'Tadama.' It means by-and-by, which is to say, Never." Apparently the Japanese has no nerves. With us worry kills more people than work, and what will drive a Westerner mad, or cause physical suffering, will leave no more trace of disturbances on a Japanese face than on the bronze forehead of the Dai Butsu at Kamakura. The true Oriental is a man of colossal impassivity. Whether this absence of nerves is a defect or not, it is to us incomprehensible. Hence (shall we say?), the Japanese are strangely lacking in sympathy. Mr. Arinori Mori, who knew his countrymen so well, pleaded earnestly for the inculcation of sympathy, because, said he, "It is the crowning virtue of civilization, and the indispensable basis of the democracy we hope like other nations to become." Often this lack of sympathy amounts to positive cruelty. But the most serious negative characteristic of the Japanese people is the absence of mutual confidence. Suspicion taints every feature of life in the East, retarding commercial development, and hindering that real civilization which, unless it comes from the people, and not from the Government, is sure ultimately to prove a failure. A long resident set down the leading characteristics of the Japanese people as "conceit and deceit," while an eminent Japanese declared these to be "licentiousness and lying." Like most honest scholars who study the Japanese language—sure index of national character—Dr. Scherer finds it "permeated with insincerity." On the other hand, of the positive traits the leading one is economy. "A Japanese can live and lay by a surplus where a Westerner would starve a dozen times over." The wages of a maid servant in the interior, besides her board

and clothing, both of the simplest and cheapest, is three dollars and a half a year. Politeness, based on rules for every possible experience in life, as fixed and inflexible as brass, is another characteristic, and so is industry.

Thus, while the author says all sorts of lovely things about the people among whom he lived, to whom ties of gratitude bind him, and of whom he so highly thinks, he has the courage of his opinions. He devotes an entire chapter to Dr. Verbeck, believing him to be worthy to be ranked with Ulfilas, Augustine, and Patrick, and giving strong reasons in proof of his argument. He writes: "Nor shall we ever despair of the future of a race who, for all their faults, proved so responsive to the spiritual magnetism of a holy life as did the Japanese to this master missionary." In his final chapter on "The Gates of Asia; or, the Larger Meaning of the War," he gives seven reasons for believing that the Japanese will win. Their victory will mean the salvation of China and the triumph of the West in the East. Altogether, this is a timely book, charged with elements of permanent value.

*The Life of Nathaniel Macon.* By William E. Dodd, Ph.D., Professor of History in Randolph-Macon College. Raleigh, N. C.: Edwards & Broughton. 1903. Pp. xvi., 443.

The present volume is a welcome addition to the literature of American history, not only because it furnishes us with a good account of the public life of a little-known Southern leader, but also because it is another indication of the growing interest in the study of history in Southern institutions of learning. Professor Dodd has made use of some unprinted material—the Macon papers, the Joseph H. Nicholson papers, the Yancey-Steele correspondence, the Warren County records, the Jefferson and Monroe manuscripts—and of some printed material not readily accessible to Northern students. The Macon papers have been used to good purpose at different points, notably in showing that the alienation of the "Quids" began as early as 1803. Of the longer secondary accounts, Schouler appears to have been used almost exclusively. Adams's history is not mentioned in the bibliography or referred to in the text. Indeed, we take it that Professor Dodd has made no use of Adams—that is, of the best history of the United States in the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

Macon was no intellectual giant, like Marshall; he was not a great orator, like Webster; not a brilliant debater, like Calhoun; not a fascinating leader, like Clay. Yet for a quarter of a century he exercised a first-rate influence in his party and in Congress. He was able to do this because of his sound common sense, his industry, his probity, and his never-failing devotion to the duties of his position; because he represented clearly, persistently, and faithfully the ideas of the section from which he came. He was a product, as well as a representative, of the narrow local provincialism and the close-fisted economy of the hard-headed rural classes of Western North Carolina. He believed in State sovereignty, and in a penny-wise governmental policy. He believed in slavery. He believed in expansion for Southern agriculture and in

restriction for New England commerce. He believed in unostentatious democracy, both for the individual and for the State. Beyond these things he had little interest and little insight. What he saw he saw clearly, believed in profoundly, and worked for persistently; what he did not see clearly he did not see at all, and cared for as little. His political conduct follows naturally. He mostly opposed the measures that were successful, and favored those that failed. He might be called the great opposer. He opposed the adoption of the Constitution, though not actively. He opposed the Jay treaty. He opposed the nationalizing policy of Hamilton. He feared the "monarchical" tendencies of New England, and was disgusted with the aristocratic pretensions of Washington. He opposed war; New England disloyalty alone was responsible for the failure of the embargo. He opposed governmental expenditures beyond the barest necessities, and voted against the bill to repair the White House furniture, and the bill to erect the Washington monument; he even begrudged Jefferson the postage on his letters. He opposed measures for internal improvements because they were unconstitutional, and the "American system" because it was a scheme to take from the Southern Peter in order to pay the Northern Paul.

Professor Dodd has set the man and his attitude on these questions before us with clearness and force, though with no great literary skill. That he is an admirer of Macon is clear. Yet he is not blind to his mistakes or to some of his limitations. Frequently he condemns the position taken by Macon, and frankly states that the conduct of North Carolina, and of Macon as a citizen of North Carolina, in the Revolution was "almost shameful." Nevertheless, while one does not feel that Professor Dodd has hesitated to condemn Macon where he believes him to have been mistaken, one cannot but feel also that some of the limitations of Macon are shared by his biographer. Certainly Professor Dodd realizes the position of the agricultural South far more clearly than he does that of commercial New England; certainly he has not the historian's sympathy with New England Federalism; certainly the statesmanship of Hamilton does not appeal to him. His "John Marshall" comes out with the true Jeffersonian ring, and throughout the book the most distinct impression of Marshall's work that is left with the reader is gained from the statement that "John Marshall had not then [1800] been canonized, and so his decisions were not received as dicta of heaven-born justice" (p. 186). So far as can be gathered from Professor Dodd's chapter on "The Revolution of 1800," that movement was mainly significant because it abolished the "levees" of Adams and dispensed with the "coach and four" of Washington; while of the significance of the Louisiana purchase, so clearly set forth in the masterly chapter of Henry Adams, one learns nothing at all. Finally, it is to be feared that Professor Dodd has as little realization as Macon had of the vital forces at work from 1816 to 1828.

*The Sporting Dog.* By Joseph A. Graham. Macmillan. 1904.

This work belongs to the American

Sportsmen's Series and is attractively illustrated by cuts of its subjects, namely, setters, pointers, retrievers, beagles, foxhounds, and greyhounds. Although Mr. Graham does not overlook entirely bench-show points, he treats of the dog pre-eminently as an object of sport. Throughout the book he shows a freedom from partisanship too uncommon among writers on such subjects. Indeed, his liberality is likely to shock advocates of the straight-bred Llewellyn setter, for he makes his classification broad enough to admit the "cold-blooded" Llewellyns, hitherto debarred, to a place among the orthodox straight-breds. He has had experience as a sportsman, a breeder, and a patron of field trials, and has, moreover, carefully studied his subject. This embodiment of his knowledge will stand for clean sportsmanship, generously free from pettiness.

Beagle lovers may find their favorite somewhat briefly dealt with, but greyhound men will rejoice in the admirable treatise on coursing hounds. Foxhounds are accorded none too much space, but the status of the foxhound in America is well defined. The pointing bird dogs naturally receive the greatest share of attention, and the setter seems to be the favorite of the author, as it is generally of the sporting public. Mr. Graham sketches the history of the Llewellyn setter in America, and by good descriptions gives a sort of personality to the great field-trial champions and producers, such as Gladstone, Count Noble, Gath, Roderigo, Antonio, Gladstone IV., Marie's Sport, Tony Boy, Lady's Count Gladstone, and Mohawk. His account will interest everybody who owns a dog descended from these heroes. What he has to say of "class" in field-trial dogs should impress on breeders the value of this quality when transmitted to dogs for the South and West, where wide ranging is the prime essential. His opinion that orange and white is, from the viewpoint of utility, the best color combination, the reviewer cannot agree with, and would suggest, from both science and personal experience, the superior utility of a white-backed dog with under-parts heavily marked with black.

Probably many bench-show men will disagree with Mr. Graham in his statement that Cincinnatus's Pride is, in all-around quality, the best dog shown for years. He may be the best combined bench-show winner and field-trial performer, but in bench quality he is clearly inferior to at least half-a-dozen dogs shown in New York within the last two years. Still more open to question is the assertion that Ulverstone Rap is the best Laverack in America. It is unfair, however, to expect the author to be as able a judge of bench dogs as he is of shooting dogs. Not only will his work be an authority on its subject, but it will give pleasure and satisfaction to every reader who loves the sporting dog.

*Dictionary of Historical Allusions.* By Thomas Benfield Harbottle. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903.

We shall not pretend that this is a satisfactory work. It is too short, its subjects might have been more judiciously chosen, and it is not scrupulously accurate. We cite a few passages which require little or no comment: "Oath of Strasburg. The oath of allegiance taken

by Charles and Louis, the sons of Louis le Débonnaire, to their brother Lothair, the Emperor, after the battle of Fontenay in 841." Under "*Verdun, Treaty of*," Charles the Bald, Louis and Lothair are called the sons of Charlemagne. "*Treuga Dei*. The Truce of God, imposed upon all the vassals of the Empire who were at war amongst themselves, by an edict of the Emperor, Henry III. [sic], issued at the Diet of Constance in 1403." But the *Treuga Dei* goes back to the first half of the eleventh century. "*Paladins*. A select band of knights in the service of Charlemagne, the most famous of whom was Roland or Orlando. Most of them were killed at the Battle of Roncesvalles, where Charlemagne's troops were defeated by the Moors [sic] in 778." Whether or not this definition would pass muster in a dictionary of literary allusions, it is out of place here. "*Renaissance*. The revival of learning in Italy in the fifteenth century. It was largely due to the advent in the West of many Greek scholars who fled from Constantinople on its capture by the Turks in 1453, and introduced the masterpieces of Greek literature for the first time to the scholars of the West." Apparently Mr. Harbottle is unaware that Greek had been taught in Italy for more than fifty years prior to 1453. "*Mulmutine Laws*. A code of laws said to have been drawn up by Mulmutius, King of the Britons, circ. 400 B. C. They were translated by Alfred the Great, and remained the basis of English law until the Conquest." "*Canada Act*. An act passed in 1774, giving a constitution to Canada." "*Magdeburg, Sack of*. At the capture of Magdeburg by the Austrian General Tilly, in 1629," etc. "*Landsgemeinde*. The ancient popular assembly in the Forest Cantons of Switzerland. Every male above the age of sixteen had access to it. It elected the chief magistrate (Landamman), levied taxes, and exercised judicial functions." One would hardly infer from this statement that the Landsgemeinde still exists in several cantons of Switzerland. In the notice of the League of Cambray no reference is made to Julius II., and the essential features of the Treaty of Bärwalde are left out. By an obvious misprint the Day of Dupes is placed in 1603, and perhaps it is a misprint which gives 1780 as the date of Mme. Guyon and the Quietists. Mr. Harbottle thinks that the Man in the Iron Mask wore a mask of iron, and notices *Compte Rendu* without saying a word about Necker.

We could easily enlarge this list of slips and extravagances were it necessary to do so. Of course it is an easy matter to find errors in any book of reference where the dimensions are considerable, but here the dimensions are not considerable and the number of mistakes seems larger than the law allows. Why a book of reference should be printed on thick paper we are unable to conjecture, unless the author is trying to make a little "copy" go a long way. Mr. Harbottle might have doubled his space by using thinner paper. We stated at the outset that the choice of subjects was open to criticism. In illustration we would point to the author's capricious selection of nicknames. But further criticism would only accentuate

the points which have been touched upon already.

*The English Church from the Accession of Charles I. to the Death of Anne (1625-1714)*. By the Rev. William Holden Hutton. Macmillan. 1903.

This, the sixth volume in the 'History of the English Church,' edited by the late Dean of Winchester and the Rev. William Hunt, appears before the fifth, which is to cover the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First. With it the purpose of the editors—to provide for the first time an adequate, continuous, and readable history of the English Church in neither too large nor too small a number of volumes, each from the pen of a writer who has given especial attention to the period of which he writes—is nearing its fulfilment. All of the volumes thus far have been of distinct literary and historical merit. Though the single volume by a layman (Dr. James Gairdner's account of the Church under Henry the Eighth and Mary) is perhaps the best of all, the reverend authors of the other parts of the history have done something for their cloth in helping to disprove the universality, at least, of Clarendon's caustic dictum that clergymen "understand the least, and take the worst measure of, human affairs, of all mankind that can read and write."

Mr. Hutton's work is not unworthy of the excellent company it keeps, though it lacks something of the active charm of the previous volumes. This is doubtless due in part to the character of the period of which it treats. An era of misdirected struggle and, in general, of defeat, important and critical though it may be, cannot supply the most inspiring material for composition. But the lack of vigor that is to some degree apparent in the author's picture is due in greater measure to the severe constraint that he has put upon himself, in the interest partly of brevity and partly of what he considers proper unity. He has studiously avoided touching upon the history of other religious bodies in England during the period of the Puritan revolution; he has said as little as possible of the political history of the country during the same period; in fine, he has attempted what is almost an impossibility. So much is assumed that his sketch lacks somewhat of body and life.

The result has reacted upon the author even in the parts of his work that are inherently most interesting. Archbishop Laud is one of the most commanding figures in the whole history of England. To portray him adequately would be to achieve distinction for the entire book. Mr. Hutton has on other occasions dealt with this theme, but here, though we recognize the judiciousness and carefulness of the student, Laud does not stand out solidly and impressively before us, as he does, for example, in the essay of Professor Mozley, or in the sparkling sentences of Bishop Creighton. But when we have complained, perhaps unduly, of a certain coldness in manner, we have uttered the only complaint that the book arouses. It is richly stored with material within the range to which the author has confined himself, and his treatment is thoughtful and appreciative. The publishers are to be thanked for the excellent specimens of bookmaking that the

series affords, and the respective authors for the ample provision of maps, chronological tables, and indexes. It is to be hoped that the death of Canon Overton is not destined to deprive us of the promised concluding volume from his pen, which his minute and sympathetic knowledge of England in the eighteenth century made him, above all others, the one writer to furnish.

*A Century of Expansion*. By Willis Fletcher Johnson. With maps and index. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1903. Pp. 316.

Mr. Johnson's purpose is to treat step by step the territorial development of the United States; so he opens his narrative with a definition of the term "expansion," which becomes so elastic in his treatment that he credits Virginia with having inaugurated the policy of expansion—that is, natural growth—and crowns the Republican party for having consummated it in the forcible and unnecessary annexation of the Philippines. The book—pleasantly written, be it said in partial extenuation, and to a certain extent logically developed—is to be regretted for two reasons: first, because the spirit of it is pernicious, the course of our history being viewed through the jaundiced eye of the Jingo; and, second, because of inexcusable carelessness in dealing with facts. On the first point, what more need be said than that the author reads in the Louisiana Purchase a forecast (p. 126) of the "annexation of Alaska, of Hawaii, and of the Philippines"; that he deems it "ill-advised and mischievous" to have withdrawn from Cuba? To these pronouncements let us add that in his view (p. 276) the Spanish authority in the Philippines at the time of the American occupation was unchallenged by the inhabitants of the islands, who (p. 285) "wanted to be under the sovereignty of the United States."

The author, to consider charge two, persists in the obsolescent idea that the West, at the end of the eighteenth century, was rebellious, and that, under first-rate leadership, she might have struck fortunes with Spain, then intrenched in Louisiana. There has not survived in American history a ranker fallacy; and as for discrediting the genius of James Wilkinson for intrigue, it is clear that to Mr. Johnson the devious ways of the general—who so securely ensnared Burr and deluded Jefferson—are unknown. The Genet business, too, has been thoroughly misunderstood (pp. 68-69), though enlightenment might have been found in certain publications of the American Historical Association, and in the text of the Treaty of Alliance with France, in connection with the discussion of the measures proposed by the intrepid Frenchman.

To a great many it will be edifying to learn that the Louisiana Purchase (p. 97) included, by inference, West Florida, and that Texas had neither part nor parcel in it. The whole question of the Floridas (pp. 129-132) is bungled—West Florida and East Florida are inextricably confused in the narrative. Mr. Johnson apparently overlooked the dispute which arose over the former under the terms of the Louisiana Purchase, and utterly ignored the revolution of 1810 which determined its fate, leading to its incorporation with Mississippi Territory. The question of Texas is equally well muddled. First, it is only when we reach page 163 (the Louisiana Purchase

was settled on page 97) that we find the title to Texas to have been at all in dispute; but the essentials of the controversy are nowhere given. Concerning the eastern boundary, we have (p. 163): "Spain, on the other hand, insisted that Louisiana stopped at the Sabine River." The eastern boundary claimed by Spain was the Arroyo Hondo, sixty miles or so to the east of the Sabine, and it was here in 1806 that the armies of the two countries stood facing one another and under orders the fulfillment of which meant war. The Neutral Ground Treaty, perhaps the most corrupt in our history, was now negotiated by Wilkinson; the effect of it was practically to abandon our claim to Texas. Yet there is no mention of it.

President Jackson's position on the proposition to annex Texas is put in an entirely false light, as false as the author's declaration that Jackson thought Burr, in his conspiracy, "really cherished hostile designs against the United States" (p. 137). Here, it may be pointed out, as typically slipshod, that James Long in 1819 is made to declare the independence of Texas; and that the date of the battle of San Jacinto is given as April 27, 1836. But the acme of partisanship and historical inaccuracy is reached when the author avers (Texas was knocking at the door of the Union):

"Hitherto, Texas had claimed nothing farther west and south than the Nueces River as the boundary between her and Mexico. Now, at Jackson's suggestion, the claim was pushed to the Rio Bravo or Rio Grande del Norte. But even this was not sufficient to satisfy the rapacity of Jackson and his followers. Mexico was actually willing, in her helplessness and despair, to relinquish her claim upon Texas and to yield to the United States the whole country, not only to the Nueces, but also to the Rio Grande" (p. 172).

Mr. Johnson's historical judgments are equalled only by his generalizations. Who that is acquainted with Spanish-American history, even in the alphabet, would declare the date is 1810 (p. 128): "The plotting

of Miranda, encouraged by Hamilton, had led to general revolt throughout Central and South America"? Another observation by the author is worthy of mention. He sees (p. 197) only with the close of the Mexican war "the rise of sectionalism in national politics."

The book has five maps and an index, which is not as full as it might be.

#### BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Alphandéry, P. Les Idées Morales chez les Hétérodoxes Latins au Début du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Sciences Religieuses. Paris: Ernest Leroux. Annual American Catalogue, Cumulated, 1900-1908. The Publishers' Weekly.)

Ashon, Mark. Azalim. (Fiction.) Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.50.

Baxter, Sylvester. Edwin A. Abbey's Holy Grail. Boston: Curtis & Cameron. \$1.50.

Bibliotheca Magica et Pneumatica. Catalogue \$1-35. München: Jacques Rosenthal.

Blumenthal, Verra de. Folk Tales from the Russian. Rand, McNally & Co.

Broadhurst, Thomas W. The Holy City. (Drama.) Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. \$1 net.

Burdick, Arthur J.—The Mystic Mid-Region: The Deserts of the Southwest. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2 net.

Callaway, Frances Bennett. Charm and Courtesy in Conversation. Dodd, Mead & Co. 85 cents net.

Chantepie de la Saussure, P. D. Manuel d'Histoire des Religions. Traduit sur la seconde édition allemande. Paris: Armand Colin. 16 fr.

Clarence King. Memoirs, with The Helmet of Mambrino. Published for the King Memorial Committee of the Century Association by G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50 net.

Clarke, Wm. B. A More Excellent Way. (Religious.) G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.25 net.

Complete Pocket-Guide to Europe. Edited by Edmund C. Stedman and Thomas L. Stedman. New ed. William B. Jenkins.

Conrad, Joseph, and Hueffer, F. M. Romance. McClure, Phillips & Co. \$1.50.

Cooke, Grace Macgowan, and Macgowan, Alice. Hulda. (Fiction.) Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

Dasent, Sir George Webbe. Popular Tales from the Norse. New edition, with a memoir by Arthur Irwin Dasent. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Day, Lewis F. Stained Glass. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

Decourcelle, Pierre-Henri-Adrien. I Dine with My Mother. Translated from the French by Evelyn Clark Morgan. The Neale Pub. Co.

Dodge, Theodore Arrault. Napoleon. (Great Captains.) Four volumes. Vols. I and II. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$4 net per volume.

Drage, Geoffrey. Russian Affairs. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$6 net.

Drummond, Henry. Going to the Father. Dodd, Mead & Co. 40 cents net.

Early Reviews of English Poets. Edited by John Louis Haney. Philadelphia: The Egerton Press. \$2 net.

Early Western Travels. Vol. II. John Long's Journal, 1768-1782. Cleveland, O.: The Arthur H. Clark Co.

Evidence of Gen. Buller before Royal Commission on War in South Africa. Longmans, Green & Co. 6d. net.

Foulke, William Dudley. Slav or Saxon. (No. 43 of Questions of the Day Series.) Third edition, revised and enlarged. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.

Hanbury, David T. Sport and Travel in the Northland of Canada. The Macmillan Co. \$4.50 net.

Henry, Arthur. The House in the Woods. (Fiction.) A. S. Barnes & Co. \$1.50.

Keeler, Charles. The Simple Home. San Francisco: Paul Elder & Co.

Kingsley, Florence Morse. The Singular Miss Smith. (Fiction.) The Macmillan Co. \$1.25.

Lübke, Wilhelm. Outlines of the History of Art. Edited and largely rewritten by Russell Sturgis. 2 vols. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$10 net; postage, 64 cents.

Macdonald, Greville. The Tree in the Midst—A Contribution to the Study of Freedom. A. C. Armstrong & Son. \$3.

Maclean, J. M. India's Place in an Imperial Federation. Longmans, Green & Co. 1s. net.

Mathews, F. Schuyler. Field Book of Wild Birds and their Music. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2 net.

My Commencement. (Scrap-book.) Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1 net.

Nelson, Charles Alexander. Analytical Index to Volumes 1 to 25 of Educational Review. Educational Review Publishing Co.

Philadelphus. David Graham. The Cost. (Fiction.) Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

Pulford, Edward. Commerce and the Empire. Cassell & Co. \$1.50 net.

Rowe, L. S. The United States and Porto Rico. Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.30 net.

Spencer, Herbert. Autobiography. 2 vols. D. Appleton & Co. \$5.50.

Stephens, Robert Neilson. The Bright Face of Danger. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.50.

The Death of Alexander Hamilton. Reprint of the Coleman Collection. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The Highroad. (Fiction.) Chicago: Herbert S. Stone & Co.

The History of America. Guy Carleton Lee, editor. 20 vols. Vol. I. Discovery and Exploration, by Alfred Brittain. In conference with George Edward Reed. Vol. II. Indians in Historic Times, by Cyrus Thompson. In conference with W. J. McGee. Vol. III. Colonization of the South, by Peter Joseph Hamilton. Vol. IV. Colonization of the Middle States, by Frederick Robertson Jones. Philadelphia: George Barrie & Sons. Printed for subscribers only.

The Jessica Letters. (Fiction.) G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.10 net.

The Journey of Coronado. Translated by George Parker Winship. A. S. Barnes & Co. \$1.

Tolman, William H.; and Hemstreet, Charles. The Better New York. Afterword by Josiah Strong. The Baker & Taylor Co.

Townshend, Dorothea. Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork. E. P. Dutton & Co. \$5 net.

Turgeneff, Ivan. Novels and Stories. Translated by Isabel F. Hapgood. Vol. X. The Jew, and Other Stories. Vol. XI. The Diary of a Superfluous Man, and Other Stories. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2 each.

Venable, Wm. H.—Saga of the Oak, and Other Poems. Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.20 net.

Warne, Frank Julian. The Slav Invasion and the Mine Workers. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.

Wister, Owen. The Virginian. Popular ed. The Macmillan Co. 25 cents.

Wood, William. The Fight for Canada. Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd. 21s. net.

Wyon, Reginald. The Balkans from Within. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. \$4 net.

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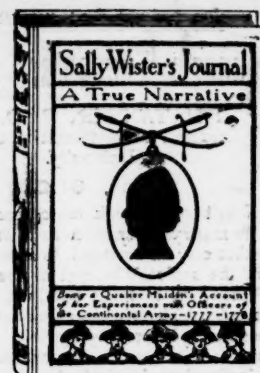
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